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Abbatia De Bello Capite
Ordinis Premonstratensis.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS
OF
BEAUCHIEF ABBEY.

BY
SIDNEY OLDALL ADDY, M.A., OXON.

"WE BEHELD THE SAID MONASTERY ADORNED WITH SUCH FAIR DECORATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND REPAIRS,
THAT WELL MAY IT BE SAID WITH THE PROPHET, 'O LORD, I HAVE LOVED THE BEAUTY OF
THINE HOUSE.'"—*Visitation of Beauchief, in 1491.*

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PREFACE.

HAVING spent the greater part of my life in the immediate neighbourhood of the monastery which forms the subject of the following pages, I was induced, some three years ago, I scarce know how, partly perhaps by a natural inclination towards the study of antiquities, partly by the genius of the place, to set on foot some enquiries concerning it. The judicious and learned Dr. SAMUEL PEGGE had already published, in 1801, a laborious work on the same subject, so that my antiquarian ambition appeared to have been, to some extent, forestalled *in limine*, and accordingly my first intention was to edit, with some additions, the work of my predecessor, more especially as it had become rare and very costly. But I soon abandoned my original scheme. It is almost a hundred years since Dr. PEGGE began his *Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey*; and I need scarcely say that, since his day, the accumulation of historical material now arranged and made accessible to the public has been immense. The discovery of a ms. in the Cottonian Library (a translation of which forms chapter iii. of this work) alone determined me to compile an entirely new book. It would have been impossible to incorporate that ms. in the work of my predecessor, without rendering many of his conclusions nugatory. In short, the new wine would not have agreed with the old bottle, and I could not throw such heterogeneous matter into anything like a readable shape. Moreover, Dr. PEGGE's work consists of little more than an abstract of the chartulary of the Abbey—a vellum ms. containing 113 quarto leaves, which is now amongst the collections of PHILIP BRYAN DAVIES-COOKE, Esq., of Owston, near Doncaster. Mr. DAVIES-COOKE was so obliging as to offer me every facility for making use of the chartulary; but I found I could add little or nothing to the complete abstract of its contents which Dr. PEGGE's work contains. All I could have done would have been to transcribe the whole volume, and publish it with an analysis and index; and that, considering what has been already done, would have been almost a work of supererogation.

But I have, nevertheless, made use of mss. which afford information of more general interest, as I venture to think, than mere details of the conventual estates

and the pedigrees of the various donors. The first of these is a long Obituary, forming part of Cotton MS., Caligula E. viii. (Brit. Mus.) Of this Obituary I procured a transcript, which was collated by the able hands of W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., the well-known editor of the *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestrie*, (Record Publications,) &c., &c. I must here express my obligations to Mr. HART for the great services he has rendered me.

PECK'S MS. collections for a supplement to the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4934) have supplied me with matter of the greatest interest, particularly the letters and proceedings respecting Abbot Downham's misrule and deposition. PECK copied largely from a MS. which he cites as "Reg. Prem.;" but, except ASHMOLE'S MS., referred to below, I have not succeeded in discovering any Register of the order. PECK, unfortunately, gives no reference; neither does Mr. KIRKE, who in a paper in the *Reliquary* (Ap. 1867,) on Beauchief, quotes either directly or indirectly from two Premonstratensian Registers or Visitation Books, and I have much regretted my inability to discover their whereabouts. Dr. PEGGE has made some use of PECK'S MSS., but he has contented himself with making imperfect copies of the two English letters, given at pp. 74 and 77 of this work. He has omitted Abbot GREEN'S letter (p. 80) altogether, and given a scanty summary of the most interesting part of the abbey's history in an appendix.

ASHMOLE'S MS., 1519 (Bodleian), is a Visitation Book of the order in England, between the years 1475—1501. From this volume and PECK'S MSS. all the visitations (except the first, which is taken from Mr. KIRKE'S paper,) contained in this history have been taken. I am indebted to the Rev. H. O. COXE, Bodley's Librarian, for drawing my attention to the Ashmolean MS.; and to W. H. TURNER, Esq., of the Bodleian, for his well-executed transcripts of such portions of it as relate to Beauchief. The volume itself is of great historical value. FOSBROOKE used it largely in the compilation of his *British Monachism*, and it is noticed, *passim*, in the account of Premonstratensian abbeys in the *Monasticon*. I wonder that a volume of such extraordinary interest has not long ago been published; for it gives a better account of monastic life in England during the years which it covers, than, perhaps, any other record; and that, too, at a period when English history requires much elucidation.

The owner of Beauchief Abbey, EDWARD VALENTINE PEGGE-BURNELL, Esq., now gone to his rest, generously placed at my disposal all the ancient records of his

family. With the kind assistance of Mr. SAMPSON, I was enabled to search the muniment room at Beauchief Hall; but Dr. PEGGE had left few of the deeds and papers there unnoticed. A very remarkable charter, however, a facsimile of which forms the frontispiece of this volume, was found there. I have copied it in Appendix A, and its contents are noticed at page 64.

The Rev. H. H. PEARSON, Vicar of Norton, was kind enough to entrust to me a box of old charters in his possession. Three or four of them are grants and quit-claims to the abbey; but they are all in the chartulary, and are abstracted by PEGGE. The seals appended to these charters have been drawn by my sister, Miss S. E. ADDY, and will be found at page 150. I must thank my sister, too, for the drawing of the abbey, at page 150. It is taken from an engraving, done in the last century, with the addition of the belfry shown in Buck's view (1727).

I must also express my obligations to J. D. LEADER, Esq., F.S.A., whose extensive knowledge of the antiquities of Sheffield and its neighbourhood, always at my disposal, has been of great service to me. I am indebted to him for acquainting me with the curious "Survey" (page 123) of Dronfield church; and more so for the care with which he has read the sheets of this work when it was passing through the press, and for the suggestions by which many of its imperfections have been removed.

TO BENJAMIN BAGSHAWE, Esq., Jun., of Sheffield; Dr. SYKES and Dr. FAIRBANK, of Doncaster; to HENRY BRADLEY, Esq., of Sheffield; Miss TOULMIN SMITH, of Highbury; J. H. FLATHER, Esq., B.A., of Cambridge; THOMAS JONES, Esq., Jun., of Povey; and the Rev. J. STACYE, of Sheffield, I am indebted for many valuable pieces of information. My friend Mr. BAGSHAWE, in particular, by his large acquaintance with the antiquities of North Derbyshire, and the various sources of its historical material, has often pointed out books and mss. I might otherwise have discovered with difficulty or sought for in vain. My obligations to Miss TOULMIN SMITH are acknowledged in another place, (pp. 119, 123.) But my chief thanks are due to the Rev. F. M. GEUDENS, of Crowle, near Doncaster, himself a Canon Regular of the Premonstratensian order. Canon GEUDENS has revised the whole of the Obituary, and some of the Visitations contained in chapters v. and vi. To his learning, especially in matters pertaining to his order, I am indebted for many valuable notes, particularly on the numerous monasteries mentioned and the abbots and other celebrated persons commemorated in the Obituary.

To some extent, I feel that I must reproach myself for not having printed the unpublished records contained in this volume in their original language. But I was supposed to be writing a book which, in a great measure, was topographical; and I was therefore induced to translate for the benefit of the general reader records which, in their original Latin, would have been more valuable to the exact student of history. The translations, however, have been done with all the care I could bestow upon them, and where there was any ambiguity or doubt, I have, in all cases, given the original in the notes.

I suppose I need not make any apology for having spelt the name "Beauchief" with one *f*. The modern *Beauchieff* is an innovation some ten or twenty years old. In all the printed books I have seen—and they are not a few—which mention this place, one *f* only is used. As the suffix is the French *chef*, it would be quite as erroneous to write "chieff" or "chieftain" as "Beauchieff."

I have scrupulously avoided all questions of controversial theology: indeed, it was scarcely possible that, in such a work as this, theology could creep in at all. Accordingly the reader is not to suppose because he will meet with such expressions as "Blessed Godefroid" and "Our Lady," that I am a Roman Catholic; nor, on the other hand, is he to imagine that, because he will meet with records which disclose some of the errors into which monks, like other fallible men, were prone to fall, I have introduced those records with the express purpose of drawing an unfavourable contrast between the Roman and the Protestant faith. My endeavour has simply been to furnish whatever information I could gather respecting the history of a monastery which was greater and wealthier than has hitherto been commonly supposed, and which for upwards of 350 years exercised a paramount influence over the neighbourhood in which it was situate. But the study of antiquities is as endless as it is fascinating; and I am conscious that I have only begun, or I should rather say continued, a work which the discovery of other materials will some day render more perfect.

Sharrow, Sheffield,
Sept., 1878.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

The Order of Prémontré—Its Founder—Revivals, &c.—Use of Monastic Institutions—Abstract of the Rules of the Order—Philosophic and Celestial contemplation—Thomas de Musca—Habit of the Order—Extract from one of the Founder's Sermons—High pretensions of the regular Clergy pp. 1—6

CHAPTER II.

Dugdale's error—The Murder of Archbishop Becket—Fitzranulph, the founder of Beauchief, probably an accomplice—He renounces the world—Becket's sanctity—Altar-piece of the Abbey a representation of the murder—The name Beauchief not connected with the "head" of Becket—Names of abbeys expressive of their beautiful sites—Date of foundation—What the Founder gave to the Abbey—St. Quintin's Well—Affiliation of Beauchief to Welbeck, and to the mother-house of Prémontré pp. 7—18

CHAPTER III.

The Necrology or Obituary pp. 19—60

CHAPTER IV.

The Chaworths—Gift of the village of Greenhill—Abbey not to be sued in the Court Baron—Early References to Arbitration—Curious Agricultural Custom—Coal-mining in the 14th century—Will of Sir Thomas Chaworth pp. 61—70

CHAPTER V.

No chronicle of the Abbey extant—List of Abbots—Visitation Registers—Resignation of Abbot Ivo—Laxity of discipline in the 15th century—Abbot Downham writes to Welbeck about the payment of certain contributions—Illegality of these contributions—Bull of Pope Nicholas V.—Great disorder at Beauchief—Canon Swift writes to Welbeck complaining of the misdemeanours of the Canons—The Abbot of Welbeck writes to the Commissary General imploring him to visit his "vineyard and church of Beauchief"—Visitation of Bishop Redmayne—Abbot Downham is accused of rebellion and "many other notorious crimes"—He is excommunicated and deposed—Swift is appointed in his room—The refractory canons excommunicated with Downham renounce their opinions pp. 71—87

CHAPTER VI.

Visitations continued—Good account of the monastery—Claustral silence—Details of ritual corrected—Building of the stalls—Rebellion of two canons—Tonsures, how regulated—"Wickedness of the times"—Chantry of eight priests—Drunkenness in the house—Apostacy amongst the canons—Disorders at Newhouse—The abbot of Newhouse resigns, and is succeeded by the abbot of Beauchief—Visitation of Newhouse—Decree of Swift's election to Newhouse—Manner of electing abbots—High praise bestowed on Swift—Abbot of Newhouse pensioned—Prior of Hornby made abbot of Beauchief—Great dissatisfaction of the canons thereat, who are threatened with the greater excommunication—Questions put by the Visitor, and answers thereto—Bread and water enjoined for non-observance of silence—The abbot ordered to find instruction for his brethren in theological science—Canons not to have more than 21s. each—Great beauty of the abbey—Criminal excesses of Wolset, the chanter—Psalms not properly sung—Misconduct of the vicar of Wymeswold—Heavy taxation of the monastery pp. 88—114

CHAPTER VII.

Dependent Churches—Dronfield—Early importance of the benefice—Appropriated to the abbey in 1399—Perpetual Vicarage created by virtue of the statute in 1403—The monastery to provide service books, &c.—Gild brotherhood at Dronfield, founded in 1349—Its rules and list of its possessions—Report of a Special Commission issued temp. Elizabeth, concerning the Church—Church and parsonage in decay when the abbey was dissolved—Breaking of glass in the church attributed to "crows and other cerymyne"—"Certain freemasons and other cunning artificers" are called in to repair—The parishioners lend their aid—Misuse of churches in Elizabeth's time—Old musical instruments depicted in the stained glass—The choir-master of the abbey first Protestant vicar—Early conveyances—Norton—Ancient font there—Highly decorated monument—The abbey supplies the Vicar of Norton with 468 gallons of ale a year—Alfreton—Wymeswold, the most important of the abbey's benefices—Edwalthon pp. 115—133

CHAPTER VIII.

Buildings of the monastery destroyed—Their probable sites—Dryburgh Abbey—Tombs in the choir, &c.—Number of regular canons usually resident in the house—The lay-brothers and their employments—Class of persons admitted to profession—Gifts commonly made on profession—State of learning in the monastery—The "chapel-yard" or great quadrangle—Dissolution of the house—Its yearly income—How its estates were divided—Inventory of household goods at the Dissolution—List of vestments—Copes of red silk, embroidered with figures of peacocks, &c.—The infirmary—The grange in the park, &c.... pp. 134—143

Appendix pp. 144—149

Index Rerum... .. pp. 151—154

Index of Names and Places pp. 155—162

BEAUCHIEF ABBEY.

CHAPTER I.

The Order of Prémontré—Its Founder—Revivals, &c.—Use of Monastic Institutions—

CORRIGENDA.

The words "convert and brother," whenever used in the necrology, must be understood to refer to the lay-brothers.

P. 41. *Read* Val-Chrétien.

P. 55. *Delete* the sentence beginning "So Mackerhay."

P. 134. For Premonstratentian *read* Premonstratsian.

rate world. He was assisted in this great work by Bartholomew, Bishop of Laon, his diocesan, and so abundant was the fruit of his labours that, within thirty years after its foundation, the order numbered no less than 100 abbeys in France and Germany, and increased in after years to an extent which appears almost incredible.¹ In the 12th and 13th centuries the zeal for founding religious houses was greater, perhaps, than at any former or subsequent period. The cause which excited this outburst of pious energy was one which has not yet ceased to manifest itself in society—viz., a revival. The

¹ According to Mosheim, the order had in all parts of Christendom 1000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. In England the number of its abbeys was only 35, the most ancient being Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, near the Humber, founded in 1143 by Peter de Gausla.

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Visitations continued—Good account of the monastery—Claustral silence—Details of ritual corrected—Building of the stalls—Rebellion of two canons—Tonsures, how regulated—"Wickedness of the times"—Chantry of eight priests—Drunkenness in the house—Apostacy amongst the canons—Disorders at Newhouse—The abbot of Newhouse resigns, and is succeeded by the abbot of Beauchief—Visitation of Newhouse—Decree of Swift's election to Newhouse—Manner of electing abbots—High praise bestowed on Swift—Abbot of Newhouse pensioned—Prior of Hornby made abbot of Beauchief—Great dissatisfaction of the canons thereat, who are threatened with the greater excommunication—Questions put

John Thorne—Highly respected monument—The house supplied the king of Sweden with 400 gallons of ale a year—Alfreton—Wymeswold, the most important of the abbey's benefices—Edwalton pp. 115—133

CHAPTER VIII.

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Appendix pp. 144—149

Index Rerum... .. pp. 151—154

Index of Names and Places pp. 155—162

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HISTORY of any religious house would be incomplete without some notice, however slight and imperfect, of the order to which it belonged. The little village of Prémontré, from which the Premonstratentians take their name, lies in a secluded and marshy valley in the forest of Coucy. There Norbert, a German nobleman of high lineage, forsaking the life of pleasure to which he had been addicted, for the most opposite extreme of stern asceticism, founded in A.D. 1120 an order which, by the severity of its rules and the loftiness of its sanctity, was intended to set a new and worthy example to a pleasure-seeking and degenerate world. He was assisted in this great work by Bartholomew, Bishop of Laon, his diocesan, and so abundant was the fruit of his labours that, within thirty years after its foundation, the order numbered no less than 100 abbeys in France and Germany, and increased in after years to an extent which appears almost incredible.¹ In the 12th and 13th centuries the zeal for founding religious houses was greater, perhaps, than at any former or subsequent period. The cause which excited this outburst of pious energy was one which has not yet ceased to manifest itself in society—viz., a revival. The

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same cause, though in a different degree, which produced a Whitefield or a Wesley, produced also a Norbert. At no period in history have there been wanting men, who, fired with a noble desire to ameliorate the condition of mankind, have succeeded in working changes on the face of society which have proved both powerful and lasting. Nor can it be denied that these enthusiasts, above all the institutors of monachism, have, for the most part, been prompted by some of the loftiest emotions ever kindled in the breast of man. It would be altogether beyond the scope of these pages to enter into diffuse speculations concerning the utility, or, as the case may be, the worthlessness of the monastic system. Few, however, will be so hazardous as to deny that its faults at least were equalled by its virtues. "When we search in the monuments of history," says Montalembert, "for the natural interpretation and human origin of monastic vocations, we perceive that they were born above all of a conviction, often precocious, but always profound and reasonable, of the vanity of human things, and of the constant defeat of virtue and truth upon earth."² But we are not all prepared to admit that this conviction was either reasonable or profound. Apart, however, from these almost sentimental considerations, we may safely say that the monastic system was a necessary, and, in many respects, a salutary out-come of the manners of the times. When kings went forth to battle year by year, and when, consequently, life and property were always more or less in danger, there were needed some quiet places in the world where opportunity might be afforded for studies which cannot be pursued without repose, and where man, free from the worry and turmoil of life, might commune with nature and be still. The mistake these zealots made was in combining with a state of ease and repose rules and conditions which were almost too hard for human nature.³ It was considered that the monastic orders,

² Monks of the West. I. 23.

³ "They seriously renounced," says Gibbon, "the business and pleasures of the age; abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised the body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness."—*Decline and Fall*, c. 37.

having forsworn the pomps and vanities of the world and devoted themselves entirely to prayer and meditation, were the fittest of earthly mediators between God and man. They were called the "Soldiers of Christ." St. John Chrysostom, encouraged by the example of the ark, had even said that none but the elect (*i.e.* the monks) could possibly be saved. To them, therefore, were most befittingly entrusted the great works of intercession and godly instruction. Some ingenious inmate of the house at Beauchief has written a note in the margin of its chartulary, which says that the Premonstratentians were so called as though they pointed out (*quasi monstrantes*) the way to heaven.⁴

The rules of the order (which were subject to the Augustinian rules) provided that novices before profession should be able to read well, to understand grammar, and know the Latin tongue. Profession was not to be made before eighteen. In *summer*, they had daily chapter. Refection twice a day from Easter Day to Holyrood, except certain days. From chapter (after prime) work. After thirds great mass, immediately followed by sixths, then reading, then refection; after this sleep till nones; after nones drinking, then vespers; after vespers reading till collation. On Sundays the same, except reading instead of work. In fasts mass after sixths; reading till nones; after nones refection and sleep. In harvest times mass early in the morning; at this period, working from prime to sixths, and dining out of the house, if needful, and sleeping, if not above a French mile from the abbey; if afar off to work till vespers, and after singing them in the fields, to return home. In *winter*, from Sept. 14 to Easter, continual fast and dining after nones, except Sundays and Christmas; thirds after chapter without an interval; after thirds *mixtus* for the boys and infirm; after thirds work till sixths; after sixths mass; reading till nones; after nones refection;

⁴ Chartul. Fol. 1.—*Præmonstratenses quasi monstrantes viam ad cælum*. I need not discuss the proposed etymologies of the word Prémontré. Monastic writers have rung the changes on its connection with *præmonstrare*, saying that the place was "pointed out" by the Blessed Virgin herself, who appeared in a vision to Norbert, and showed him the white habit his canons were to wear, &c., &c.

then reading or work till vespers; after then reading till collation. On feasts of nine lessons and Sabbaths thirds delayed; mass said after them, and immediately followed by sixths; others the same. On Sundays the same as in summer, except that nones were said after refection because there was no sleep before it. On all festivals when there was no work reading instead in the working hours. In Lent the seven Penitential Psalms were said by the convent prostrate; thirds followed without interval; mass after nones; refection after vespers; after refection reading, and in case of any necessity work. Their abbots were not to wear the mitre, or other episcopal *insignia*. All the abbots had to meet once a year at Prémontré, to consult about the affairs of the order. They were to have power to excommunicate and absolve their monks. Their differences were to be composed amongst themselves, no appeal being allowed to secular courts. They were not to keep or feed dogs, hawks, swine, &c. They were to be exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction. Ordination might be granted, on refusal of the diocesan, by any other bishop. There were to be no schools for the education of youth amongst them.⁵

The avowed object of the institution was a pure contemplative life, a life which, without the Christian element, had many centuries before been pictured by heathen philosophy. In that famous chapter of the *Ethics*,⁶ in which he sums up his idea of the most perfect form of human happiness, Aristotle had declared it to consist in philosophic thought, as being most akin to our conceptions of the divine nature. "It cannot be supposed," he says, "that the divine existence consists, like that of Endymion, in a perpetual sleep. And where moral action, and with it, *a fortiori*, artistic production is impossible, the only possible conception of life is that it should consist in philosophic thought. And hence it follows that the divine life, in

⁵ I have taken this paragraph almost verbatim from an abstract of the Rules of the Order, given by Fosbrooke, *British Monachism*, ii., Appendix. The rule itself fills almost a folio volume.

⁶ X. 8.

all its exceeding blessedness, will consist in the exercise of philosophic thought. And of all human activities whatsoever, that will be the happiest which is most akin to the divine.”⁷ Old Thomas de Musca, canon of Dale, a Premonstratentian house in Derbyshire, writing in the florid but often beautiful language of monkish chroniclers, thus alludes to the contemplative life of his order. Speaking of Newhouse, he says, “There were eight men in that monastery fragrant with the flowers of the virtues; they had the rose of patience and the lily of chastity, *but, above all, the violet of the contemplation of the celestial life.*”⁸

The habit of the canons was white, fit emblem of the life of purity they tried to live. Above their necessary under-clothing they wore a cassock, with a scapulary, that is, a small hood on the shoulders. This was held to the body by a leather girdle. Out of doors they wore a large gown and white cap, but in the house they replaced the latter by a small cowl-hood. The whole were made of common white linen.

I shall conclude this short notice by an extract from one of the founder’s sermons—a sermon which was often on his lips:—

“O sacerdos, tu non es tu, quia deus es, tu non es tui, quia servus et minister Christi, tu non es tuus, quia sponsus es ecclesiæ, tu non es tibi quia mediator Dei et hominum, tu non es de te, quia nihil. Tu quis ergo, sacerdos? Nihil et omnia. O sacerdos, cave ne tibi quod Christo patienti, dicatur; alios salvos fecit, et se ipsum non potest salvum facere.”⁹

⁷ The influence of the philosophy of Aristotle on mediæval theology is well known. It produced the famous thesis of Luther—“That he who would philosophise in Aristotle, must first be stultified in Christ.”

⁸ Original in Dugdale *Monast.* vi. 895, where the passage is altogether wrongly punctuated. The paramount importance of celestial contemplation is intended by Milton, in his description of our first parents:—

“For contemplation he and valour form’d,
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace;
He for God only, she for God in him.”

—*Paradise Lost*, iv., 297.

⁹ Taiée i., 155. Appendix.

Gods,¹⁰ servants and ministers of Christ, spouses of the Church, mediators between God and man, nothing, yet all things—such were the canons of Prémontré.

¹⁰ In this strain the haughty Archbishop Becket writes to Foliot:—"Tell the king that the Lord of men and angels has established two powers, princes and priests—the first earthly, the second spiritual; the first to obey, the second to command. He who breaks this order breaks the ordinance of God. Tell him it is no dishonour to submit to those to whom God himself defers, calling them gods in the sacred writings. For thus he speaks: 'I have said ye are gods:' and again, 'I will make thee a god unto Pharaoh.' 'Thou shalt take nothing from the gods (*i.e.* the priests). * * * The king may not judge his judges; the lips of the priests shall keep wisdom. It is written, 'Thou shalt require the law at his mouth, for he is the angel of God.'"—*Hoveden*, i., 261.



CHAPTER II.

Dugdale's error—The Murder of Archbishop Becket—Fitzranulph, the founder of Beauchief, probably an accomplice—He renounces the world—Becket's sanctity—Altar-piece of the Abbey a representation of the murder—The name Beauchief not connected with the "head" of Becket—Names of abbeys expressive of their beautiful sites—Date of foundation—What the Founder gave to the Abbey—St. Quintin's Well—Affiliation of Beauchief to Welbeck, and to the mother-house of Prémontré.

“**R**OBERT FITZTRANULPH, lord of Alfreton, Norton, and Marnham,” says Sir William Dugdale, “was one of the four knights who martyred the Blessed Thomas of Canterbury, and afterwards founded the monastery of Beauchief to expiate his crime, in the reign of King Henry II.”¹

A strange mistake, for no historical fact is better authenticated than that the names of these four knights were Richard Brito, Hugh Moreville, William Tracy, and Reginald Fitzurse. The eventful deed, which happened in the cathedral of Canterbury, on the 29th of December, 1170, has been described by no less than twenty-nine different narrators, four of whom claim to have been eye-witnesses;² and on this point their testimony is unanimous. But though it is certain that Fitzranulph was not one of the four principal actors in that tragic scene, it seems almost as certain that he was in some way concerned in it. It is only necessary here to relate the details of Becket's murder so far as Fitzranulph is said to have been an accomplice in it. We are told by William Fitzstephen, who claims to have been an eye-witness, that of the four knights who burst into the cathedral, Fitzurse, with an axe he had taken from some carpenters, was foremost, shouting as he came, “Here, here, King's men!” Immediately behind him followed Robert Fitzranulph, with three

¹ *Monast.*, ii., 807.

² *Vitæ et Epistolæ S. Thomæ Cantuariensis*. Ed. Giles. Stanley, 61.

other knights, whose names are not preserved; and a motley group—some their own followers, some from the town—brought up the rear.³ We know that, about the time of the murder, one Robert Fitzranulph, who had held the sheriffalty of Derby and Nottingham for the four preceding years, retired from that office, and that his son William held it for the eight following years. Now, if Fitzranulph were indeed a participator in Becket's murder, the reasons for his retirement would be at once explained, "since this would be a sacrifice which respect for the feelings of the times demanded, but which could not extend to the exclusion of his son, who was not implicated in the crime."⁴ Dr. Pegge has laboured to prove that he had no concern whatever in the murder, and his argument may thus be summarised: There was a certain Robert de Broc, the son of Randolph de Broc, who, according to Diceto, "pillaged the archbishop's household furniture," and this Robert, the son of Randolph, he takes to be the Fitzranulph, who is stated to have been concerned in the murder. We cannot, however, in the face of so much conflicting testimony attach much weight to his arguments. He does not appear to have been aware of the passage in Fitzstephen, which expressly states that Fitzranulph followed the knights into the cathedral. Nor does there seem any reason for supposing that he was the same person as De Broc, who is always spoken of by that name. Moreover, when we bear in mind his retirement from the sheriffalty, the universal tradition of his having been concerned in the murder, and the fact that the altar-piece at Beauchief was a sculptured representation of the martyrdom, the probability is a very strong one that Fitzranulph was in some way connected with it. We know for an absolute certainty that he renounced the world, and became professed in religion as a canon of the house he had founded. He is described in the Obituary as "canon and founder." And if any further proof than this were needed, we find his name as witness to

³ Fitzstephen, 300. Stanley, 86.

⁴ Foss, *Lives of the Judges*, I. 243, 247. Fuller's *Worthies*: Derbyshire.

a deed, by which William Fitzranulph, his son, confirms his father's donations to the convent,⁵ thereby showing that his father was *mortuus sæculo*.

It is worthy of note, moreover, that Ralph Musard, who was a considerable benefactor to the abbey, was also called *canonicus*, and was buried there, as if he had become professed as a canon of the house. It was no uncommon thing for people of the highest rank to take monastic vows, and pass the end of their days in religious meditation. The two facts that Fitzranulph retired from the sheriffalty about the time of the murder, and that he is described as "a canon" in the Obituary would almost appear to warrant the conclusion (or, at least, to render it a very probable one) that he retired to the abbey he had founded, to wash away the stain of blood-guiltiness by a life of religious austerity. It will be remembered how, in Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," Queen Guinevere, after her crime, is represented as retiring to "the holy house at Almesbury":—

"So let me, if you do not shudder at me
Nor shun to call me sister, dwell with you ;
Wear black and white and be a nun like you ;
Fast with your fasts, not feasting with your feasts ;
Grieve with your griefs, not grieving at your joys,
But not rejoicing."

Impossible, nevertheless, as it may be, at this distance of time, to know the certainty of these things, we are at least sure that the abbey was in a special manner dedicated to the murdered archbishop. Though in his lifetime public opinion had been divided as to Becket's sanctity, and though so long as fifty years after his death it was a subject of public dispute in the University of Paris whether he was in heaven or hell,⁶ and though the Archbishop of York had even said that he had perished in his pride like Pharaoh of old, the eye of Catholic piety soon began to regard him as the worthiest martyr of the Church. There was no country in Europe but what contained memorials of him. The cathedral of Canterbury was

⁵ Chartul, f. 8, b. ⁶ Rapin's History, I., 278.

thronged with countless pilgrims, and miracles were performed at his shrine without end or stint. It was said that he not only raised dead men to life, but even the very beasts. So great was his sanctity, that in one year he so far eclipsed the honour and splendour both of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, that whilst at Christ's altar the offerings were nothing, at the altar of St. Thomas they amounted to £954. 6s. 9d.⁷ His saintship, in short, was second to none in Christendom, and his murder was even regarded as the most heinous crime which had been committed since the crucifixion of the Redeemer. "To trace his churches and memorials through the British dominions," says Dean Stanley, "would be an endless labour. * * * In England there was hardly a county which did not possess some church or convent connected with St. Thomas." Amongst the long array must be enumerated the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr of Beauchief.

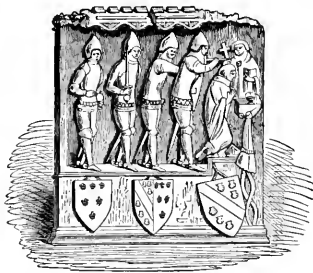
I need not here recount the strange legends of the deaths of Becket's murderers. Monastic writers have related how the dogs refused to eat the crumbs which fell from their tables; how one of them in a fit of madness killed his own son; how Tracy, who struck the first blow, was seized with a dreadful disorder which caused him to tear the flesh from his bones, crying, "Mercy, St. Thomas." The facts, as nearly as can be ascertained, are these. Moreville, who had been Justice Itinerant in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, was discontinued from his office in the year after the murder. The sword which he wore is believed to be the one which is still shown in Brayton Castle. Fitzurse is said to have gone over to Ireland, where he became the ancestor of the family of McMahon. Tracy was Justiciary of Normandy four years after the murder. The priory of Woodspring, near the Bristol Channel, was founded in 1210, by William de Courtenay, probably his grandson. To this priory lands were bequeathed by Maud, the daughter, and Alice, the granddaughter, of the murderer; but, "in the hope, expressed by Alice, that the intercession of the glorious martyr might never be

⁷ Lord Lyttleton, *Life of Henry II.*, 360.

wanting to her and her children." Its ruins still remain under the long promontory, called from it St. Thomas's Head, just as some have imagined Beauchief to have received its name from the Martyr's head. But more of this hereafter.

The altar-piece or reredos of the abbey, alluded to above, embodies what was once the common but mistaken notion of representing the furious altercation, in which the Primate was slain, as "an assault on a meek unprepared worshipper kneeling before the altar. A wooden altar, which remained unchanged through the subsequent alterations and increased magnificence of the cathedral, was erected on the site of the murder, in front of the ancient stone wall of St. Benedict's Chapel. It was this which gave rise to the mistaken tradition, repeated in books, in pictures, and in sculptures, that the Primate was slain whilst praying at the altar."⁸ The Beauchief altar-piece is, in its details, not unlike the ordinary pictorial representations of the murder. The four knights are depicted as following

close behind each other up to the altar, where the Archbishop, clothed in scarlet, is kneeling in prayer. Before him are the chalice and the consecrated elements, and his



chaplain, with book in one hand, and crucifix in the other, is standing on his left. The four knights are in complete armour, with their spurs on, as though coming from a distance.

The first of them, perhaps Tracy, is in the act of striking the Archbishop on the head with his sword, the next two have their swords drawn, but the fourth knight has not yet drawn his sword from the scabbard.⁹ It appears that one of the knights, Hugh de

⁸ Stanley, 103.

⁹ The alabaster reredos, which formerly belonged to Beauchief, is now the property of F. J. Savile Foljambe, Esq., M.P. The engraving of it here represented was kindly lent me by Theophilus Smith, Esq., of Sheffield.

Moreville, struck no blow at all, but contented himself with holding back at the entrance of the transept the crowds who were pouring into the cathedral.¹⁰ In one of the conventual seals, of which there are three, the Archbishop has his face to the murderers, and, in accordance with the real facts, is falling wounded on the pavement, away from the altar altogether.

It has been ingeniously, but, as we shall see, somewhat fancifully suggested that the name Beauchief, *Beauchef*, that is, Beautiful Head, or *Bellum Caput*, as it is called in Latin, was given to the abbey by its founder, in order to commemorate what, in the eyes of the faithful, would be considered the most shocking detail of Becket's murder, viz., the wounding and bruising of the head of a high priest of the Church of God, "as though it had not been anointed with oil."¹¹ "He received his death-wound," says Diceto, "in that part of his body which the holy unction had more particularly consecrated to the Lord; and he who, for the liberty of the clergy, so often exposed his head, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, fell stricken on his bowed head."¹² We must remember that, according to the notions of the times, such painful objects as the flagellated Saviour, or the battered and bleeding head of a saint or martyr, would be considered worthy of especial veneration, and be esteemed beautiful. For does not veneration often proceed from beauty seen by the eye of the mind? However it may appear to us, to the ecstatic devotee of the 13th century the head of St. Thomas would be a thing of beauty, for it was a thing to be revered. The same idea is often to be met with in the Scriptures in such expressions as "the *beauty* of holiness," and "out of Zion hath God appeared in perfect *beauty*." It has been said that "as the effect of beauty in visible objects is to produce admiration, all beautiful objects are also admirable; and thence it was an easy step to apply the epithet beautiful to things which produced admiration [or adoration], although this feeling did not arise from the cause which produces it in the contemplation of visible

¹⁰ Stanley, 94. ¹¹ II. Samuel I., 21.

¹² Rad. de Diceto, inter decem Scriptores, col. 555.

objects." There is a beauty from virtue, *forma martyrum*, "the beauty of the martyrs," as St. Augustine calls it, "which we see with the eyes of the mind."

The three principal objects submitted to the veneration of the pilgrims who flocked to Canterbury were "The Shrine," where was preserved a golden likeness of the head of the saint, richly studded with jewels; "The Point of the Sword," that is, of the sword which had struck the fatal blow; and "The Head," or "The Crown."¹³ As mementos or keepsakes of their visit to Canterbury, the pilgrims were wont to carry home with them "leaden brooches, representing the mitred head of the saint, with the inscription, 'Caput Thomæ.' Many of these are said to have been found in the beds of the Stour and the Thames;"¹⁴ and some of them may now be seen in the British Museum. Remembering that the abbey was, as seems most probable, an expiatory foundation, dedicated to Becket, one might almost be tempted to say at once that the word Beauchief is distinctly allusive to the *head* of its patron saint.

It is a pity, however, that from philological and other reasons one should be compelled to reject such a fair-seeming and withal such an interesting derivation. The true account of the matter undoubtedly is that the abbey took its name from the fair headland beneath which it is situate. It is a trite but a true observation that the builders of monasteries usually made choice of the most pleasant and secluded places. Such names as *Beauvale*, *Bello-loco*, or *Beau-lieu*, *Bella-landa*, *Beauchief*, *Depedale*, *Gaudii Vallis*, *Vallis Serena*, all the names of abbeys, and many more such like, of themselves bear witness to this well-known fact. Perhaps the same spirit which led the monastic orders "to hew their poetry in stone," as an elegant writer has expressed it, led them in some measure also to fix their abodes amidst the fairest surroundings of nature. But their chief

¹³ The antiquaries are not agreed as to the meaning of *corona*, some contending that it is an architectural term, and others that it was the depository of the saint's head. The question is discussed by Dean Stanley: *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 280.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 235.

reason was that they might, in quiet secluded valleys obtain a more perfect retirement from the world they had vowed to forsake, and pursue that life of celestial contemplation which was the chief end of their existence.¹⁵ "I did not know," says Hunter, "that there is another place in England called Beauchief, till I read the inquisition on the death of John Lord Roos in 9. Hen. V. Sussex, where the Manor of Eastbourn is described, and, amongst other things, it is said there was a rabbit warren, "*apud Beauchief*." This quotation puts an end at once to all speculations as to the head of Becket being connected with the name Beauchief.¹⁶

The abbey was founded on the 21st of December, 1183 (being the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle), in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr.¹⁷

I shall now recount what the founder gave to the abbey, and the best way of doing it will be to give the charters themselves. In the Chartulary are two documents professing to be deeds of foundation, and as the one differs materially from the other, I shall give them both, marking the alterations in the second and apparently later deed by means of italics. It will be noticed that both the documents are addressed to Richard Peche, who was bishop of Coventry from 1162 to 1183.¹⁸

"To Richard, by the grace of God, Bishop of Coventry, and to all the children of Holy Mother Church as well present as future, Robert Fitzranulph sends greeting. Know ye that I have given to God, Saint Mary, and St. Thomas the Martyr, and to the professed brethren of the Order of Prémontré, in free and perpetual alms, for

¹⁵ Another and more prosaic reason was the necessity of being near a stream which would supply the table with fish. The canons would not get much variety either from the *Sheen* or the *Sheaf*. But they were vegetarians when the abbey was founded, necessity afterwards compelling them to abandon the practice.

¹⁶ *Chef* is to be met with in French, with the meaning of hill or headland. "Xantippus fait enterer son chien sur un chef en la coste de la mer." *Montaigne*, ii., 50. "Peu de jours après se presenta devant le chef de Caux trente cinq navires anglesches." *M. du Bellay*, 595. It is worth noticing, however, that these examples refer to hills on the sea-shore, promontories.

¹⁷ See hereafter. ¹⁸ Pegge, 215.

the building of an abbey, the place which is called Beuchef in Doreshelles, and whatsoever is within the boundaries of Doreshelles, that is to say, from Grenhilheg along the field¹⁹ of Clebinus (Clebin?) to the fields of Gervase, Gamel, Haco, and Gerard, along the hedge to the brow of the hill which is called Dorehegset, and then as you descend over the brow of the same hill to the field of Roger, and so along the hedge of the same Roger beyond the water, across the footpath, to the field of Robert the Forester, and so by the way which leads to Grenhilheg aforesaid, and whatsoever is contained within the limits of these boundaries; and the church of Norton, with all its appurtenances; the church of Alfreton, with all its appurtenances; likewise also the church of Wimundeswold, with all its appurtenances; also the church of Edwaldeston, with its appurtenances; and the tenth of all my rent. All these things I have given to the said brethren for the salvation of the soul of King Henry II., and for the salvation of all his children, and for the salvation of my soul, and the souls of all my relations, and for the souls of my father and mother, and all my ancestors. Witness: Albinus, Abbot of Darley; Brother Eustace, of Lileshill; Brother William, of Welbeck; William Fitzranulph, Serlo de Pleasley, Matthew de Eston, Radulph Fitz-Hugh, and Matthew, his brother; William, the son and heir of Robert, Adam de Stretton, and Odo."

The other document, which professes to be a recital of the deed of foundation, will be found materially different.

"To Richard, &c. Know ye that I have given to God, &c., in free and perpetual alms, for the building of an abbey, the place which is called Beauchief, and which is situate in Doreheseles, that is to say, from Grenhilheg, *through Aldefelde, as far as Quintinewelle*,²⁰ and so as you descend by the brook of the said Quintinewelle to the stream

¹⁹ *Sartum*, a cleared place.

²⁰ This place, which is also called Quintinwelle in the description of boundaries given in the Obituary, is evidently, as was pointed out to me by Mr. Furness, St. Quentin's Well. The town and abbey of St. Quentin were not far from Prémontré. It is therefore probable that the Norman-French Premonstratensians, who first settled at Beauchief, gave the place this name. Interpretative corruption has since changed it into *Twentywell* or *Twentywell Sick*.

which is called *Shava* (*Sheaf*) and along the same stream as you descend to the *Broc*, and by the *Broc* as you ascend to the ford of the *Broc*, which is near the path which descends from the house of *Alan*, and so by his field to the fields of *Robert* and *Peter*, and so as you ascend to *Grenhilleg* afore-said, and whatsoever is contained within the limits of these boundaries, and the church of *Norton* with all its appurtenances, and the church of *Alfreton*, with . . . likewise also the church of *Wymundeswald*, with . . . also the church of *Edwaldeston*, with . . . and the mill of *Norton*, with all its multure, its appurtenances and gearing, so that neither I nor my heirs shall build any other mill in the liberty of the said village, nor permit this to be done by any man save the canons; but it shall be lawful for the canons themselves to erect other mills in the liberty of the same village, whenever they wish, and wherever they shall consider it advantageous to themselves. And also the field of *Hugh*, near *Meresbroc*, with one toft in *Leis*²¹ and one toft near the house of *Alan*, and the tenth of the pannage of all my land, and two oxgangs of land of my demesne in *Wymundeswald*, with one toft containing two acres of land. And know ye that the said oxgangs lie thus: On the north side, towards *Robbe Wong*, there are eight sellions,²² at *Milne Hill* six sellions, at *Nethir Bromberghe* five sellions, at *Longbenelondichend* eleven sellions, at *Martinhaw* six sellions, at *Mykyl Waterlondeshend* three sellions, at *Hungerhyll* four sellions; on the east side, the said toft in my farm outside the village; at *Conswellende* four sellions, at *Marwaterlandes* eight sellions, at *Marthegrevegate* five sellions, below the roads five sellions, at the south of *Rikisike* six sellions; all which lands I have given and granted, as it hath been written, to the said brethren for the salvation of the soul of King *Henry II.* and all his children, and for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my heirs and all my relations, and for the souls of my father, my mother, and my wife, and all my ancestors. Witness: *Albinus*, Abbot of *Darley*; *Adam*, Abbot of *Welbec*, and the convent thereof; Brother *Eustace*, of *Lilise-*

²¹ Most probably *Norton Lees*.

²² Sellion, a ridge of land between two furrows, does not appear to be of any ascertained quantity.

hill ; *Walter, the deacon of Stretton* ; *William Fitzranulph, Roger Fitzranulph, John de Orreby, Radulph Fitzhugh, Master Walter Leche*,²³ *Walter, the clerk*,²⁴ *of Osberton* ; *Eustace Fitzhugh and Stephen, his son* ; *Adam Fitzphilip, Gilbert de Berneston, Gilbert de Sueton*."

In the Obituary is a third, though short, description of the boundaries of the monastic estate, which differs from either of these.

To relate in minute detail the various gifts of land, vassals, money, &c., which the house received from time to time, would be a long, and, to most people, a tedious narration. I hope, however, to make some amends for omitting altogether this portion of my subject, by giving, next in order, a translation of the calendar of benefactors, or obituary, as it is more properly called, which belonged to the abbey. I have chosen to place the Obituary first, because it supplies a detailed list of founders and benefactors, and also because it supplies to a very large extent the void I might otherwise have appeared to leave in not detailing the numerous benefactions to the house.²⁵

The first canons of Beauchief were, doubtless, a colony from Welbeck. We may almost infer this from the fact that "Adam, abbot of Welbeck, and the convent thereof," attested the second deed of foundation. Moreover, in visitations of the abbots of Welbeck, Beauchief is spoken of as *ecclesia nostra filialis*. We must remember, too, that the founder had estates in Nottinghamshire. The following table will show the descent of the various abbeys in England and Wales from the mother-house.

²³ *Medicus* in the original. The family of Leche, Leake, &c., are of great antiquity in Derbyshire. It is doubtful whether Master Walter's profession is here being described, or whether an attempt to Latinize the name is merely intended.

²⁴ *Clericus*, it has been observed, which is often affixed to the names of witnesses, does not always signify a clergyman, for this was expressed by *persona* ; or, if not beneficed, by *capellanus*. *Clericus* is often the person who wrote the instrument. See the Obituary, March 8.

²⁵ The more curious reader is referred to Pegge's History for a minute account of all the gifts, &c., recorded in the Chartulary. It was impossible for me to do anything more than repeat what he has said profusely, and, for the most part, accurately. Indeed, I felt that I could not properly enter into this part of the subject without giving either a transcript or a translation of the whole of the Chartulary. I shall, however, notice several of the more curious grants, benefactions, &c., making use of Pegge's transcripts.

CHAPTER III.

The Necrology or Obituary.

EVERY religious house kept a book which was called an *Obituarium* or *Necrologium*, in which the names of departed abbots, canons, benefactors, and others were recorded, in order that they might be commemorated, or held in perpetual remembrance by the members of the convent, whose prayers, it was believed, poured forth unceasingly before the throne of heaven, would hereafter obtain for them a fuller measure of happiness in a world to come, or, at all events, shorten the duration of their stay in the cleansing fires of purgatory. Two of these obituaries, belonging to Beauchief, have come down to us. One of them, which is very short and meagre, and apparently a sort of abstract of the one I am now going to publish, has several times been printed.¹ It is now amongst the Dugdale mss. in the Bodleian Library, being prefixed to an ancient copy of The Rule of St. Augustine and his Life of the Clerks, which belonged to this monastery. The other, which is a far more extensive and interesting record, has never, to my knowledge, been published before. Its very existence was unknown to Pegge and others, who have written accounts of this house. It is described as a 13th century ms., with continuations,² that is to say, the entries have been made in it from that period down to the dissolution of monasteries (1536). It is not in a good state of preservation, the ink being in many places so pale that it was impossible to recover many of the words without the aid of a strong magnifying

¹ The whole of it is incorporated in Pegge's History. It was originally published by Hearne, in his Appendix to John of Glastonbury's Chronicle; also by Mr. Kirke, in the *Reliquary*. The Obituary in the *Cotton mss.* was first pointed out to me by Mr. Cox, in his *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*.

² The estimate is made from the handwritings. The oldest date in it is 1300.

glass, some of the words being lost altogether. And, as the entries in it have been made at many different times, it is written in all manner of handwritings. I believe I am correct in saying that very few monastic obituaries have been preserved. That of Beauchief is a MS. of considerable historical value, containing, as it probably does, the name of every benefactor to the community, and giving us, besides, many curious glimpses into monastic life. The necrology was read every day in the chapter-house after prime, and contained the anniversaries of departed brothers, sisters, benefactors, and others who had received the fraternity of the order. A mass was said every day for them by one of the religious, called the priest of the second week. All the priests had, in their turn, to say, the first week the high mass, the second week the mass *pro defunctis*, and the third week the mass *de Beata*, or mass for the good of the order in honour of Our Lady. These three masses were called the masses of the order. Many other masses and other services were occasionally said for the benefit of brothers, sisters, and benefactors, either living or dead.

It may be well here to explain some of the terms used in the Obituary, and the divisions of the community. To the Premonstratentian order belonged—

1. REGULAR CANONS (*canonici, sacerdotes, et professi*), who were either priests, or studying to be priests.
2. LAY-BROTHERS (*fratres conversi*). These did not become priests. They wore the white habit of the order, the white, however, being rather tinged with grey. Both the priests and lay-brothers made solemn vows.
3. DONATS (*fratres donati*) were persons who offered their manual or intellectual services to the abbey, and thus became members of it, but not in the same sense that priests or lay-brothers belonged to it, for the *donatus* could be dismissed from the abbey or leave it of his own free will. His dress was that of a secular person, but of a greyish white colour. Priests, lay-brothers, and donats lived together in the abbey, and formed what was called the religious community.

4. TERTIARIES, or brothers of the third order of St. Norbert, who wore, under their secular dress, the short scapular and girdle of the order. They lived in the world and could marry, but they had certain religious rules to observe.
5. LAY-SISTERS (*sorores ad succurendum*). Ladies who had been received into the fraternity on account of some good service they had done to the abbey.
6. ASSISTANT-BROTHERS (*fratres ad succurendum*). These words include all persons—priests or laymen, married or unmarried—who had obtained the *fraternitas* or brotherhood of the abbey (see Sep. 16 of the Necrology), and participated thus in its spiritual benefits in return for their good services or benefactions to it. They received the brotherhood in the chapter-house in the presence of the community.

COMMENDATIONS. It will be noticed that persons are commemorated with great (*magna*) or with middle (*media*) commendation in this Necrology. There were in the Norbertine order three kinds of commendations or public prayers for the dead. (1.) The great commendation (*major* or *magna*) was said on the feast of All Souls (2nd November) at the burial and first solemn service of a dead brother. (2.) The middle (*media*) commendation was the same as the great, except that the 119th Psalm: *Beati immaculati in via, &c.*, "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord," was omitted. It was said on the 5th, 7th, and 30th day, and anniversary of a dead brother or benefactor. (3.) The small (*minor*) commendation was said almost every day by the priest whose turn it was to say the daily mass for departed brothers, sisters, and benefactors. It consisted chiefly of the first two parts of the great commendation.

In one place an assistant canon (*canonicus ad succurendum*) is mentioned. The house would also have a number of novices, choristers, servants, &c. The porter and the miller are mentioned.

I have preferred to give the Necrology in English rather than in the original, and if by so doing it may appear, in the eye of the fastidious antiquary, to have lost something of the charm which attaches to antiquity, I can only observe that mediæval Latin (especially if printed with contractions) is of interest only to an exceedingly small number of readers. The old spellings of names have mostly been retained, and where there is any ambiguity in the Latin, the original is given in the notes.

[THE OBITUARY.]

(*e MSS. Cotton. in Musco Brit. Caligula A. viii., ff. 4-27.*)

[January.]

“ Roger de Alreton has a service with great commendation.

Lord of [?Alfreton.]

1. Commemoration of Roger de Alreton,³ who gave us nine oxgangs and a half of arable land in Wymondswold, for whom a mass shall be said for ever at the altar of the Holy Cross.
2. Commemoration of William Gresley, abbot of this place, who was translated from Newbo⁴ to this monastery, and who died A.D. 1433.
3. Commemoration of Walter, canon of Newhouse, formerly Abbot of Stanley Park.⁵ And of Sumund de Brom.⁶
4. Commemoration of Sir Thomas, abbot of Newhouse, and of Sir Robert Wolset,⁷ canon of this place.

³ He was of the founder's kin, the Fitzranulph family being called De Alfreton. *Terra* is arable land in Doomsday, and I have rendered it so here.

⁴ Newbo or Newboth, a Premonstratentian abbey near Grantham. All abbeys and abbots mentioned in this Obituary are of the Premonstratentian order.

⁵ Dale Abbey, in Derbyshire, sometimes called Stanley Park. The abbot of Dale here mentioned is Walter de Senteny, first abbot of that house.—*Dugdale*.

⁶ Le Brome is described in this Obituary (December 26th) as near Rotherham. Margaret de le Brom (February 4th).

⁷ He was ordained priest in 1472. (*Pegge*, Appendix, 220.) He was, as we shall see hereafter, an immoral man. He held the post of chanter.

5. Commemoration of Alexandra, sister of Stephen, formerly abbot of this place; and of Egidius, abbot of St. Foillan;⁸ and of Richard de Stanle, who gave us five marks for a pittance.
6. Commemoration of Master Robert de Santhorp, for whom such a service shall be said in the convent as is said for a canon of this house, for ever.
Pray for the souls of Hugh [Orena?] and⁹ . . . his wife.
7. Commemoration of John de Wynteworth, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, for he gave us 2s. 1d. rent for a pittance.¹⁰
8. Commemoration of Philip, abbot of Prémontré; and of Henry, our canon and brother, of the Isle.¹¹
9. Commemoration of brother John de Rettforth, our canon, priest, and professed brother, formerly prior of this place.
10. Commemoration of Peter, abbot of Ressons.¹²
11. Commemoration of Walter, the monk of Hukelowe.¹³
- 12.
13. Commemoration of John de Bedun, founder of Lavenden Abbey.¹⁴
14. Commemoration of Richard, our lay brother.
And of Richard, our canon and brother.
- 15.

⁸ Near Rœuls, Hainault, Belgium. Egidius was its eighth abbot.

⁹ MS. illegible.

¹⁰ An allowance for a meal, derived from *picta*, a small French coin. *Pietancia est Prebenda seu constituta portio que contigit cuique commensali in cibo et potu.*—Reyner.

¹¹ Isle Abbey. *Insula Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, or Marienweerd, a Norbertine abbey in Holland, near Culenberg. Blessed Robert, a relation of King Henry I. of England, was its first abbot; it was an affiliation of St. Martin's Abbey, Laon, France. Henry must have come from Marienweerd to Beauchief. Parts of French territory belonged, after the Norman conquest, to England, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and even later; and this is the reason that so many English ecclesiastics lived in France, and *vice versa*, French ecclesiastics in England.

¹² Near Beauvais, in France. Founded in 1150, by a colony from St. John of Amiens.

¹³ The only place where *monachus* (a solitary person) occurs in this obituary. No doubt he was a hermit, living at Hucklow, in Derbyshire. It is a mistake to call canons of Prémontré "monks." It is incorrect to speak of "the monks" of Beauchief. They were "canons."

¹⁴ In Bucks.

16. Commemoration of Viscount Ranulph. And of William . . . de Thorpe, for whom a full service shall be said in our convent. And the commemoration of William de Radeford, called "the tanner,"¹⁵ our assistant brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
17. Commemoration of Sir Thomas Foljambe, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent with great commendation, and for whom a mass shall be celebrated for ever at the altar of St. John the Baptist. And of Robert Waterton, and Cecilia, his wife.
18. Commemoration of Thomas de Coclico, our assistant brother, for whom such a service shall be said after his decease as is said for a deceased canon.¹⁶
19. Commemoration of brother Robert de Barneburht, our canon, priest, and professed brother, formerly prior of this place.
20. Commemoration of Ludeluya,¹⁷ mother of Sir Girard de Furnival, and of Walter, our convert and brother.
21. Commemoration of Richard Perleson, of Hansegge.¹⁸
22. ¹⁹
23. Commemoration of the departed Cluniacs and Cistercians, for whom every one of our priests shall say a mass, and the clerks fifty psalms, and the lay-brethren a hundred pater nosters, and for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.²⁰ And of William our convert and brother, and Margaret, his wife.

¹⁵ "Richard I. complained of the monks and canons of his era that they associated to themselves tanners and shoemakers." Fosbrooke, *British Monachism*, ii., 62. The same complaint is in *Piers Plowman's Tale*. The word used here is *pellifarius*. It may mean either a carrier or a tanner.

¹⁶ Masses were said for the living as well as the dead. In the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani* occurs:—*Celebrabitur una missa pro ipso Abbate vivo*, I. 450. Thomas had probably bargained with the convent in his lifetime. On May 9th, we find John Loucok making a direct bargain for his soul's health.

¹⁷ Pegge has Andeluga. ¹⁸ Hathersage. ¹⁹ The Obituary is not quite filled up.

²⁰ There existed between the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians, and the religious of other orders, a kind of brotherhood, or communication of spiritual benefits in their respective orders. The clerks (*clerici*) are novices or professed brothers not yet priests, but studying to be priests.

24. Commemoration of brother John Bothing, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
25. Commemoration of brother Robert de Wymunswold, canon and priest. Commemoration of Roland Bualt, sub-prior of this house.
26. Commemoration of Beatrix, mother of Stephen, formerly our abbot.
- 27.
- 28.
29. Commemoration of Gilbert, abbot of Leystone.²¹ And of Roger Grastok, formerly porter of this place.
30. Commemoration of Margaret Lady Galway, foundress of the abbey of Tungelonde.²²

[February.]

1. Commemoration of William Bungay, of Chesterfield. And of Roger de Bancwelle [Bakewell], our assistant brother.
2. Commemoration of William, abbot of Licques.²³ And the commemoration of Sir Thomas Wedur, abbot of this house; and of Roger his father, and Margaret his mother, and all their relations. And of Richard Langtone, and all the faithful departed.
3. Commemoration of William, abbot of Licques.
4. Commemoration of Helenicla, foundress of the abbey of Anina (?). And of Roger, our convert and brother. And of Margaret de le Brom, our assistant lay sister.
- 5.
6. Commemoration of Berengarius, first abbot of Welbeck. And of Matilda, Countess of Warran. And of Ranulph de Eccleshall. And of Alan de Stanley.

²¹ In Suffolk, founded in 1167, by Ralph de Glanville.

²² Tongue-land, so called because it was built on a tongue of land formed by the meeting of the rivers Dee and Tarffe, in Kirkcudbright, founded by Fergus, laird of Galloway.

²³ There are several instances in the Obituary where a person is put down for more than one commemoration. William was sixth abbot of Licques, which is near Calais.

7.

8. Commemoration of Philip, abbot of Leystone. And of Henry, our canon and brother. And of Robert, abbot of Coverham [Corham, Yorks].

Sir William Folkingham, formerly abbot of this place.

9. Commemoration of Roysia, formerly wife of Sir Thomas de Chaward, our advocate, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
10. Commemoration of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem,²⁴ and of Robert de Unisterone [Unstone ?].
Commemoration of Galfrid de Arnesby, canon of this place, and vicar of Norton Church.
Commemoration of the pious memory of Sir Thomas (who died A.D. 1432) Chaworth,²⁵ our advocate, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, with great commendation.
11. Commemoration of John Chapmon and Margaret, his wife.
12. Commemoration of Helemunda, wife of Osbert de Cestrefeld [Chesterfield], and of John Croke, formerly vicar of Norton, who died A.D. 1510.
13. Commemoration of Richard Bargin, of Middleton.
14. Commemoration of the pious memory of Sir William de Folkingham, formerly abbot of this place, for whom a service shall be said in the convent, with great commendation. 1324.
15. Commemoration of Roger, our convert and brother. And of John de Farnfeld and Agnes his wife; of Matilda de Gowsil, Alan de Farnfeld, Robert Grelle, and William de Gamgete, and their relations, our benefactors, for whom a full service

²⁴ There were four of this name successively Kings of Jerusalem, the last of them, Baldwin IV., who died in 1186, being most probably intended here, for no one appears to be commemorated who died before the foundation of the abbey. It is, however, possible that Baldwin II. may be intended, for he, says Thomas Fuller, "a little while before his death, renounced the world and took on him a religious habit. . . . We must believe that Baldwin did it out of true devotion, to ripen himself for heaven, so that all his life was religiously tuned, though it made the sweetest music in the close."—*Holy Warre*, II. 18. The Premonstratentians had two abbeys in Jerusalem.

²⁵ The parenthesis is as I have written it.

shall be said in the convent. In order to sustain the same service we have set apart ten shillings in the mill of Eccles-sale, and from the same mill we have set apart forty pence for Kylnehyrst.²⁶ And of William Stubbe and Albreda his wife, for whom a service shall be said in the convent.

Commemoration of brother John Wortlay, our canon, priest, and professed brother.²⁷

16. Commemoration of Hugh de Moreville, founder of Dryburgh Abbey;²⁸ and of Richard Fitz-Dune, of Lincoln; and John de Beley, son of Osbert de Beyley.

Commemoration of Richard de Esseburn [Ashbourne], our assistant brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.

17. Commemoration of Henry, canon and prior of this place; and of Adam Le Blunt, of Kerbroke (Carbrook), and Beatrix his wife, and Anabill his mother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, with great commendation.

18.

19. Commemoration of Hasculph, founder of the Abbey of Lucerne,²⁹ and of Sir Gervase, Bishop of Sééz, and formerly abbot of Prémontré;³⁰ and of Richard de Harwode, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

²⁶ *xl. d. pro Kylnehyrst.* The meaning of this is obscure, unless the canons had a chapel there, of which I find no mention. Gousehill, or Gouxhall, is in Lincolnshire. Peter de Gousel founded Newhouse, in that county, the oldest house of the order in England.

²⁷ Deacon 1408, priest 1411.

²⁸ Hugh de Moreville was one of the murderers of Becket. The founder of Dryburgh was not De Moreville, but King David, who founded it in 1152, with a colony from Alnwick. De Moreville was, however, a great benefactor to the house, and for that reason appears to be called *fundator*, out of compliment. We shall see hereafter that one of the Chaworths is called *fundator* of Beauchief. The ruins of Dryburgh (near Melrose) are extensive, and, being in a better state of preservation than most monastic remains, give one a good idea of the arrangement of a Premonstratensian abbey. In its enclosure are laid the remains of Sir Walter Scott.

²⁹ Lucerne, in Normandy, founded in 1143, by Hasculph de Subigny.

³⁰ Gervase, an Englishman by birth, was 14th Abbot General of the order in Prémontré.

20. Commemoration of Amicia de Ponte Arche.
21. Commemoration of John Fitzherbert, and Margaret his wife, our benefactors, for whom such a service shall be said in the convent as is said for the rest of our brethren.
- 22.
23. Commemoration of Cecilia, wife of John Law'nder (?) and Beatrix his wife, for whom a service [shall be said] in the convent.
24. Commemoration of Gervase de Haschovere [Ashover], our assistant brother.
- 25.
26. Commemoration of Alice, wife of William de Briges, and of Robert, our convert.
 Commemoration of brother Richard de Tukil [Tickhill], our canon, priest, and professed brother. Of Roger de Travers, and Alice his wife, and of their sons and daughters, of Thomas Travers and Margaret his wife, and of their sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, benefactors and benefactresses of this house.
27. Commemoration of John, abbot of St. *Espini* (?).
28. Commemoration of Sir Richard Redmane, bishop of St. Asaph, and abbot of Schapp [Hepp, or Shapp, Westmoreland], and Visitor-General of all our order of Prémontré, in the realms and in all parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

[March.]

1. Commemoration of William Brommele, our benefactor, and Margaret his wife, our assistant brother and assistant lay sister.
2. Commemoration of Gobert, abbot of Thenailles.³¹
3. Commemoration of Thomas Chaworth, Esquire (*armiger*), our advocate, for whom a solemn service shall be said in the

³¹ Gobert, sixth abbot of Themailles, near Vervine (Aisne), France.

convent, with great commendation, every year. He died A.D. 1482.³²

4. Commemoration of John de Parlys, and of Radulph de Wadde-worth, formerly prior of this place.
5. Commemoration of the pious memory of Sir³³ Henry Stafforth, parson of Treton, our assistant brother, who gave us a silver cup (*siphum*).
6. Commemoration of John and Helen Eidi (?), and of Alice [wife of] John le Plummer,³⁴ and (*cut off*).
7. Commemoration of Adam, abbot of Newhouse, and of Galfrid de Sauce' mara, founder of the abbey of St. Mary of Stanley Park. [Dale, Derbyshire.]
8. Commemoration of Mabile and of William de Richmunt, clerk,³⁵ and of his wives, from whom we received nine marks, and for whom a service shall be said; and of the Lady Johanna Loterel, formerly wife of Sir Thomas de Chaworth the elder.
[Commemoration of] Luke de Beley, who confirmed the gift of his father Renner and Serlo his brother, and gave us common pasture over all his land in Belay, for all kinds of animals sent there for pasture, to whom is granted on the day of his anniversary a full service in the convent, with great commendation.
9. Commemoration of Adam,³⁶ our convert and brother.

³² The genealogist might compile almost a complete pedigree of the Chaworths from this necrology. There is much information about the family in the two volumes of the *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Society.)

³³ I have generally rendered *dominus* "sir" throughout, though it is difficult to give a good English equivalent. It was generally given to clergymen, as, *e.g.* the Welsh parson, Sir Hugh Evans, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Those who took the academic degree of Bachelor of Arts were called *domini*. Some use the word *Dom*.

³⁴ *i.e.* The plumber.

³⁵ It is evident that *clericus* does not here mean a clergyman. It means a person to some extent skilled in letters, as a conveyancer, notary, attorney. The word is often to be found amongst the names of witnesses to deeds, where it doubtless refers to the person who formulated the instrument.

³⁶ Written *Ade* in the ms., and always so in mss. of this period. Whence the surnames Adey, Ady, Addy, Addie, Adamson, Addison, &c.

10. Commemoration of Baldwin, abbot of St. Just,³⁷ and of Luke de Beyle, and Sarra and Isabel his wives, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, with great commendation. And of Osbert de Beyley, for whom a service shall be said.
11. Commemoration of Michael de Mora.
Commemoration of John Moor, of Grenhill, who gave us two silver spoons.
12. Commemoration of Walter, our convert and brother. And of the Lady Agnes, wife of Sir Lawrence de Chaworth, and of William Amyas and Margaret his wife, for whom a full service [shall be said] in the convent. And of brother Alexander de Barlow, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
13. Commemoration of our brethren, sisters, friends, and benefactors, and of all who sleep in our churchyard, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.³⁸ And of Radulph, our lay brother, with great commendation.
14. Commemoration of Matthew de Haverseg, knight, for whom a service shall be said in the convent, that is to say, with middle commendation. And of brother John Bate, our lay brother; and of brother Robert de Roderham, formerly abbot of this place.
15. Commemoration of Richard, abbot of Lucerne. Commemoration of William Fitz-Thomas, of Cesterfend [Chesterfield], who gave us £10, for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
16. Commemoration of Aufred, abbot of Clairefontaine.³⁹
17. Commemoration of Milo, Abbot *Altissiodori*,⁴⁰ and of Gilbert, abbot of *Vermanx*; and of Jordan, our brother.⁴¹

³⁷ Baldwin, fourth abbot of St. Just, near Beauvais, founded in 1147, by Odo, Bishop of Beauvais.

³⁸ On the day after the feast of St. Gregory the Great is said, in all Premonstratentian abbeys, a solemn anniversary service, with middle commendation, for the departed brethren, &c., as in the necrology.

³⁹ In the Diocese of Laon, near Prémontré.

⁴⁰ Milo was fourth abbot of St. Marian's Abbey, in Auxerre.

⁴¹ *Vermanx*? *Jordanus* is the name of one of the earliest abbots of Beauchief, and also of one of the vicars of Norton. The place-name Jordanthorpe, Norton, near the abbey, doubtless comes from this word.

Commemoration of William Bruer, son of William Bruer.

18. Commemoration of Gerlemus, abbot of Chartreuse.⁴² Commemoration of Hugh Drapur, of Chesterfield, who died on the last day of the month of March, A.D. 1508.
 19. Commemoration of Sir Robert Luterel; and of Radulph Tynett, our canon and professed brother, who died A.D. 1420.
 20. A most special commemoration for the soul of Lord John,⁴³ son of the King of England, formerly Duke of Lancaster, and for all his progenitors, for whom a full service shall be said for ever.
 21. Commemoration of Theodoric, founder of the abbey of [*Meneviensis*].⁴⁴ And of Wenemar, formerly abbot of Tongarloo.⁴⁵ And of Gilbert de Roderham, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
 22. Commemoration of Rumphar, our canon and brother. And of Alice, formerly wife of Richard de Draycotes.
 23. Commemoration of Robert de Falda, for whom a service shall be said in the convent with great commendation, for he gave us 5s. 6d. rent in Falda. (?)
 24. *It. xpo. sci laffed'* (?) our assistant lay-brother and sister. Commemoration of Christopher Lafold and Isabel his wife, our assistant brother and assistant lay-sister.
- (*Cut off*) our canon and brother. And of Robert Mantyll, founder of the abbey of Mandon.⁴⁶

⁴² Gerlemus was the first abbot of Chartreuse, near Soissons, France.

⁴³ John of Gaunt. It is not apparent why he is so specially commemorated, though the reason may be that he was the father of Cardinal Beaufort, who was a benefactor to the abbey. (See April 11th.)

⁴⁴ Qu. ? There was no abbey of the order in Menevin, but the abbey of Tallaght-y-Llychan was in the diocese of Menevin, in Caermarthen, founded by Griffid, Prince of South Wales. There are two or three founders of Norbertine abbeys called Theodoric, but the names of these abbeys have no resemblance with the word *Meneviensis*.

⁴⁵ Wenemar was 7th abbot of Tongerlo, a most celebrated abbey in Belgium, founded in A.D. 1130. Two Norbertine colonies have been sent from it, a few years ago, to England; one to Crowle, another to Spalding, Lincolnshire.

⁴⁶ The White Canons settled first in Great Parndon, Essex. Robert Mantell invited them to build an abbey on land which he gave them at Bileigh, a hamlet of Maldon, Essex, and, accordingly, an abbey was built there in 1181, in honour of St. Nicholas.

25. Commemoration of William Parker, our assistant brother.
26. Commemoration of Sir Richard Holynbrytt, vicar of Wymunceswold, our priest and professed brother. And of Agnes his sister.
27. Commemoration of Hugh, bishop of Coventry, and all his successors, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of Isabel, our assistant lay-sister.
28. Commemoration of William, abbot of Cappel.⁴⁷
29. Commemoration of Lady Nichola Chaworth, wife of Sir Thomas Chaworth, Knight, who died A.D. 1411. Of Reginald, our canon and brother. And of Robert Mantyll, founder of the abbey of Mandon.
30. Commemoration of Hugh, abbot of Cappenberg.⁴⁸

[April.]

1. Commemoration of Sir Roger de Glyda [qu. ? Blyda], formerly rector of Rotherham Church, our assistant brother,⁴⁹ for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
- 2.
3. Commemoration of Robert Fitz-William, our advocate, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
4. Commemoration of John, formerly vicar of Alpherthorpe [Alfreton].
5. Commemoration of Symon Bolar, of Holinesfeld [Holmesfield].
6. Commemoration of Radulph, our canon and brother.
- 7.
- 8.
9. Commemoration of Richard de Peco, our canon and assistant brother.⁵⁰ Commemoration of Robert Grelle. And of William

⁴⁷ Probably the fourth abbot of *Capella ad Planas* (Chapelle-aux-Planches), near Belfort, Vosges.

⁴⁸ Hugo, sixth abbot of Cappenberg, near Munster, Westphalia, founded by Blessed Godefrid, count of Cappenberg, who took the white habit in this abbey.

⁴⁹ *Frater ad succurendum*. He can hardly be called a lay brother, except on account of his not being professed, but only a secular clergyman. The term appears to have been used in rather a wide sense. Most likely he received the fraternity of the house. See September 16.

⁵⁰ *Frater ad succurendum* can only mean here, I imagine, that he was a benefactor in some way.

de Gringett, and of John, Agnes, Alan, Agnes, Robert, Henry, Agnes, Matilda, Cecilia, and Matilda, his relations, our benefactors, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent *pitanc' xxxd. (?)*.

10. Commemoration of Leca, wife of Michael de Edenesover, and of William Bruges, our assistant brother.

And of Sir Robert de Heclessale, son of Radulph de Heclessale [Ecclesall].

11. Commemoration of John Edward, steward of this house.⁵¹ And of Henry [Beaufort], bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal of St. Eusebius, our benefactor.⁵²

12. Commemoration of Galfrid, our canon and brother. And of Sir Robert Luterel.

13. Commemoration of Sir John Norton, formerly abbot of this place, who died A.D. 1530, on whose soul may God have mercy! Amen.

14. Commemoration of Thomas Russell, canon and professed brother, who died A.D. 1421.

Commemoration of Robert Fitz-Roger, founder of the Abbey of Langley.

Commemoration of Michael de Haverseg, our brother, for whom a service shall be said in the convent, for he gave us three pigs of lead.⁵³

⁵¹ Serjeant or steward (*serviens*). In the household books of the Hospital of God's House, at Southampton, *serviens* is the steward. See report of MSS. in Queen's College, Oxford: Appendix to Report of *Historical MSS. Commission*, 1877, p. 551. Serjeants-at-law were called *servientes ad legem*. I should observe, however, that in an inventory of the goods of Beauchief occurs *matress x servientum*, where *servientes* cannot be "stewards," but, as I imagine, "servants."

⁵² He was a son of John of Gaunt, by his mistress, Catherine Swynford, whom he afterwards married. His children by this woman, all born before wedlock, were legitimated by the name of Beaufort, in the 20th year of Richard II. He was born about the year 1370, and succeeded the famous William of Wykham in the see of Winchester. He was the wealthiest man in England, and by his will his great wealth was distributed in charitable donations. We have seen that his father is commemorated in this necrology. (*Ante*, March 20.)

⁵³ *Plaustrata plumbi*. Either wagon loads or pigs of lead. I have some reason to think that the canons worked lead mines in Derbyshire themselves, for there was a mine called the Beauchief mine.

15. Commemoration of brother Henry de Gamulluston, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

Commemoration of Sir John Asshby,⁵⁴ formerly rector of Dronfield Church.

16. Commemoration of Matilda, wife of *Thurmodcestun* (?), and of Augustine, abbot of Lavendene.⁵⁵
17. Commemoration of Sir John Hasshby, formerly rector of the Parish Church of Dronfield, who gave us £20 sterling to pray and celebrate for him. He died A.D. 1409.
18. Commemoration of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. And of Lambert,⁵⁶ abbot of Newhouse. And of Petronilla, foundress of *Gaudii Vallis*.
19. Commemoration of Sir Richard de Brathfford [Brailsford], formerly rector of Dronfield Church.
20. Commemoration of Serlo de Plesley and of *Turbni* (?), abbot of Fontaine-André.⁵⁷ And of Master John Detard, of Roderham, who gave us 12 marks to pray and celebrate for him, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
21. Commemoration of Sir Thomas Peyton, vicar of Awseton [Alfreton], our brother and priest.
22. Commemoration of John de Becton [Beighton], our canon and priest.
23. Commemoration of Sibilla, formerly wife of Sir John Waus [Vaux?] our sister.
- Sir John Martyn.

⁵⁴ Spelt "Hasshby" just below. It will be noticed that the spelling of English names is altogether phonetic. Ashby was the last of the rectors. (Pegge, 97.)

⁵⁵ Augustine, abbot of Lavendon, and John Gaunceforth, abbot of Dale, if we may believe the chronicler, were men of exemplary piety. "These two," says Thomas de Musca, "shone forth in their days and in their order, like the morning and evening stars in the firmament of heaven." *Chron.* c. 12.

⁵⁶ He is described as "a man of the highest prudence, true to his word, just in his judgment, provident in counsel, faithful in his trust, determined in his discipline, conspicuous in benevolence, and illustrious for the universal virtue of his conduct. Who so instructed his monks in the sweetness of celestial intercourse, that I may truly say, with the Apostle, 'Our conversation is in heaven.'" *Ibid.* c. 13.

⁵⁷ Probably Turrembert, fourth abbot of Fontaine-André, near Neufchatel, Switzerland.

24. Commemoration of Gregory, abbot of Holywood.⁵⁸ And of Girard, bishop *Nonomensis* (?). And of Sir *Cossum* (?), abbot of Cuissy.⁵⁹ And of Sir Hugh, formerly rector of the church of Handesworch, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
25. Commemoration of William, priest, and vicar of Norton. And of William Parker, of Eston [Cold-Aston] and *Abe'* (?) his wife.
26. Commemoration of Richard de Haya, founder of the abbey of Blankelanda [Normandy].
27. Commemoration of John, prior of this place. And of Hugh, formerly abbot of Langley.
- 28.
29. Commemoration of Berasdus, abbot of Blanchland.⁶⁰
30. Commemoration of Ydonia, wife of Richard Fitz-Dune.
Commemoration of the pious memory of Sir John Marmyoun,⁶¹ for whom a service shall be said on the day of his anniversary, in the full convent, for ever, with great commendation.

The last day of April.

Nota. { 31. Commemoration of Sir John Greynwod, *alias* Sheffield,⁶² formerly abbot of this place, who died A.D.
[i.e. with feld,⁶² formerly abbot of this place, who died A.D.
music.] 1536. May God be merciful to his soul!

⁵⁸ Holywood (*Sacrum Nemus*), so called from a Druidical grove, mentioned as Derecorngall, in Dumfries, founded by Dervogilla, mother of John Baliol, King of Scotland.

⁵⁹ A Premonstr. house in Laon, near Prémontré.

⁶⁰ Blanchland, near Hexham, founded by Walter de Bolebeck, in 1165. There was another abbey called Blancalanda, near Coutance, in Normandy, founded by Richard de la Haye du Puits.

⁶¹ "The family of Marmion, lords of Fontenoy, in Normandy, was highly distinguished. Robert de Marmion, Lord of Fontenoy, a distinguished follower of the Conqueror, obtained a grant of the castle and town of Tamworth." *Scott*, note to *Marmion*. The family appears to have become extinct.

⁶² Dr. Pegge, not knowing that Abbot Sheffield and Abbot Greenwood are the same person, makes two abbots, which causes him some little confusion.

[May.]

1. Commemoration of Berthold, abbot of Cella.⁶³ And of Patrick, abbot of Alnwic.
2. Commemoration of William Dolphin, of the parish of Eckington, who gave us two marks, and seven quarters of wheat, for whom a service shall be said in the convent for ever.
3. Commemoration of Galfrid, abbot of Newhouse. And of Hugh, abbot of Welbeck. And of William, formerly prior of this place. And of Adam, called "the cook"⁶⁴ of Schefeld, our assistant brother.
4. Commemoration of Escelin, abbot of Grimberg.⁶⁵
5. Commemoration of Henry, abbot of St. Nicholas of Furness.⁶⁶ And of Richard, our convert and brother.
6. Commemoration of Reginald, canon and priest. And of John Loucok, our assistant lay brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent for ever, for he gave us nine silver marks for the said service.
7. Commemoration of Hamelin,⁶⁷ Earl of Warran. And of Richard de Beley, son of Thomas de Beley. And of William Drane-feld, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
8. Commemoration of John de Brithecover, and Agatha, his wife, our assistant brother and sister.

Be it remembered that Sir Thomas de Gousill, knight, and Agnes, his wife, received the fraternity⁶⁸ of this house, for whom, on the day of their anniversary, such a service shall be said as is said for a deceased canon.

⁶³ Near Wirzburg, Bavaria.

⁶⁴ He was probably cook in the convent. The custom, once in vogue, of receiving masons, tanners, and other handicraftsmen into the monasteries as "assistant lay-brothers" has been alluded to before. See January 16.

⁶⁵ Probably Hescello, seventh abbot of Grimberg, near Brussels.

⁶⁶ St. Nicholas of Furness, Flanders, Belgium, of which Henry was 12th abbot.

⁶⁷ The Countess is commemorated on July 12.

⁶⁸ What the fraternity of the house was may best be gathered from the Obituary itself. See September 16.

- Commemoration of William . . . formerly vicar of Alfreton,
our priest and professed brother.
9. Commemoration of Adam, the merchant, of Lincoln.
 10. Commemoration of William Fitz-John, of Becton [Beighton],
and Guenilda, his wife, and of all their ancestors; for whom
a full service shall be said in the convent.
 11. Commemoration of Peter Roderham,⁶⁹ our canon and priest, and
of Peter de Coulton, our canon, priest, and professed brother
(1325), and of Sir Thomas Clark, our canon, priest, and
professed brother, who died A.D. 1507.
 12. Commemoration of Sir Thomas de Furnivall, for whom a full
service shall be said in the convent with great commendation.
He gave us land to enlarge our grange in Flulwode [Full-
wood], and confirmed all the donations of his ancestors of
Halumshyre.
 13. Commemoration of William Resson, our convert and brother.
 14. Commemoration of the pious memory of Sir Robert de Bubnyll,
formerly abbot of this place, who died A.D. 1413.
 15. Commemoration of William Leke, of Wymundswold, our bene-
factor.
 16. Commemoration of Lawrence, prior of this place. And of Sir
Gilbert de Malmsbury, formerly abbot of this place, for whom
a full service shall be said in the convent.
 17. Commemoration of William Basseth, of Langwad.
 18. Commemoration of Henry, abbot of Dereham,⁷⁰ and of Sir
Richard Pontrell, chaplain of Wymundswold.

⁶⁹ It was usual for those who were received into religion and became *mortui sæculo*, to renounce their surnames, and take the names of their birthplaces. Pegge quotes the following lines:—

Before she was, as now you are,
The daughter of Sir Arthur Clare,
But since she now became a nun,
Called Millicent of Edmonton.

—*Merry Devil of Edmonton.*

We have already had mentioned (31st April), John Greenwood, *alias* Sheffield, abbot.

⁷⁰ West-Dereham, in Norfolk, founded by a colony of canons brought from Welbeck.

19. Commemoration of Thomas Fitz-Gospatrik, canon and founder of the abbey of Preston.⁷¹
20. Commemoration of William, abbot of Croxton. And of Richard Maresal de Wodhuse [Woodhouse], for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of Alice, formerly wife of John de Raddecliff.
21. Commemoration of Raymund, abbot of Retorta.⁷² And of Gilbert de Barlbuk [Barlborough], our canon and brother. And of Stephen Cursun.
24. Commemoration of Aufred, father of Gilbert, our abbot. And of Richard, our convert. And of Nicholas de Fellay, our canon and priest.
26. Commemoration of Gerlo, first abbot of Newhouse.
27. Commemoration of Anice, formerly wife of Radulph de Staveley. Commemoration of William Epworth, formerly prior of this place.
28. Commemoration of Robert, abbot of Maldon.⁷³
29. Commemoration of Michael, the second and fourth abbot of Holywood,⁷⁴ and of the Lady Agnes de Verdune, our advocate, for whom a service shall be said in the convent, with great commendation.
30. Commemoration of Richard de Wymundeswold, our canon, priest, and professed brother, who died A.D. 1401.
Commemoration of Sir John Furnyvall, and Matilda, his wife, to whom the fraternity of this house was granted.
31. Commemoration of Adam, abbot of St. Josse.⁷⁵ And of Robert de Wishau, our convert. And of brother Robert de Ednes-

⁷¹ Dugdale gives no Premonstratentian house of this name. Thomas Fitz-Gospatrik founded Shapp, in Westmoreland. It was at Preston, in Kendale.

⁷² Rivotorta or Retorta, in Spain. Raymond was its fifth abbot.

⁷³ Bileigh, near Maldon, Essex. We have already seen (May 19) that the abbey of Hepp is described as Preston.

⁷⁴ There must have been two of the name. See *ante*, April 24.

⁷⁵ Sancti Judoci, St. Josse-in-the-Wood, also called the abbey of Dommartin, Pas de Calais, France.

souter, formerly prior of this house, by whose work and industry the great belfry was erected (*fabricatum*), and who bought us the great bell.⁷⁶

[June.]

1. Commemoration of Galfrid de Peco, and Matilda, his wife. And of Susanna, the wife of . . . Thomas . . .
2. Commemoration of Alan, our convert and brother.
3. Commemoration of the Lady Alice, formerly wife of Sir William Chaworth, our advocate, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent with great commendation.
- 4.
5. Commemoration of John de Malleburne.

⁷⁶ There is a curious tradition in the neighbourhood of the abbey that the great bell was surreptitiously taken away by midnight, and that in order to escape detection the horses' shoes were reversed, that the bell was taken to Lincoln, and became the veritable Tom of Lincoln, and that when Tom of Lincoln tolls milk turns sour for several miles round the abbey. I mention this old wife's tale as an instance of the fact that there is usually some truth lying in the midst of the extraneous matter which so often surrounds traditions. The tradition is correct in pointing to the existence of a great bell, the truth of it being shown by the publication of this obituary. The tradition being so far correct, one is led to inquire further as whether Tom of Lincoln may not have come from Beauchief. Buck's view (1727) shows that the tower now standing has been curtailed of its original dimensions, for on the top of it is a belfrey with windows almost exactly similar to the belfry windows of Norton Church, the windows of both indicating the style of the late Norman or early English period. And in a law suit between William Bullock and Edward Pegge, mention is made of "a large steeple where were five bells" (Pegge, 49). Now it is obvious that the great belfry (*magnum campanile*) built by Prior Robert de Edensor was not the upper portion of the now existing tower, for the style of its architecture shows it to be as old as the tower itself. Nor could a belfry of that size, which already contained five bells, contain another of any great size. Moreover, when we read of the *great* belfry, we are led to conclude there was another belfry. From these considerations we may suppose that the "great belfry" was specially built for the reception of the "great bell." It is evident from the existence of the tradition that the removal of the bell caused some stir at the time, and I certainly see nothing impossible in its having been removed to Lincoln. Such a bell as Tom of Lincoln would require many horses to drag it, and the tradition is particular in mentioning the horses. The tradition is proved to be correct in one point. Why should it not be correct in another? I would mention as a case somewhat in point, that the great bell in Christ Church, Oxford (Tom of Oxford), is known to have been removed from Oseney Abbey, near that city. Is anything known of the origin of Tom of Lincoln?

6. Commemoration of the Lady Alice, formerly wife of Sir Thomas Chaworth, our advocate, for whom a service in the convent shall be said.
7. Commemoration of Symon, our convert and brother.
- 8.
9. Commemoration of Peter, of happy memory, bishop of Winchester, founder of the abbeys of Halys⁷⁷ and Tychefeld. And of William, chaplain and vicar of Alfreton, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
- 10.
11. Commemoration of Philippe, King of France.
12. Commemoration of Bartholomew, bishop of Laon,⁷⁸ founder of our order. And of Robert, abbot of St. James in Mayence. And of William, formerly abbot of this place.
- 13.
- 14.
15. Commemoration of Wimund de Rolond. And of Robert Bardulph, patron of Barling.⁷⁹
- 16.
17. Commemoration of Robert Scypton, formerly prior of this place, who gave us a silver chalice.
18. Commemoration of Radulph Musard, our canon and assistant brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent with great commendation, for he gave us Hanley⁸⁰ and Wadshelf, and a golden chalice with a golden cross.⁸¹
19. Commemoration of Matilda de Assovere, our assistant lay-sister. And of William Wynden, canon, priest, and professed brother of this house.

⁷⁷ Hales Owen, Salop. This was the famous Peter de Rupibus.

⁷⁸ It was under the auspices of Bartholomew that Norbert founded the order. Prémontré is in the diocese of Laon.

⁷⁹ Premonstr. house in Lincolnshire.

⁸⁰ A hamlet near Staveley, where the Musards lived. "Wadshelf" is Watchill, in Brampton.

⁸¹ *Aureus* means "gilded." A gold cross would be *crux auri*, and not *crux aurea*.

20. Commemoration of David, abbot of Newhouse. And of William, abbot of St. Agatha.⁸² And of Roger *Gercarius*,⁸³ our brother. And of Thomas de Dronfeld, formerly vicar of Norton, who died A.D. 1425.
Commemoration of William Ros, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
21. Commemoration of William Fitz-Robert, our advocate. And of Walter, abbot of Val-Chretien.⁸⁴
22. Commemoration of John, abbot of Torr. And of Cecilia, formerly wife of Radulph de Eckilsal [Ecclesall]. And of John de Snottingham, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
23. Commemoration of John de Norton, our assistant brother.
24. Commemoration of John de Bernes. And of Henry de Roderham, our canon and priest.
25. Commemoration of Arnold, abbot of Arnesberg.⁸⁵ And of brother John de Willecest, our canon and priest, A.D. 1323.
- 26.
27. Commemoration of Thomas, canon of Tungeland.
28. Commemoration of William Fitz-Ranulph. And of Richard de Stanford, our canon, priest, and professed brother, 1326.
Commemoration of *Xlde* (?) de Sheffelde, our canon, priest, and professed brother, who gave us a new vestment, which cost £20,⁸⁶ A.D. 1418.
29. Commemoration of Herbert, abbot of *Vallis Serena*.
Commemoration of John de Norton, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

⁸² St. Agatha, of Easby, Yorks.

⁸³ Perhaps the same as Bergarius: "Shepherd."

⁸⁴ Val-Chretien (*Vallis Christiana*), a Norbertine abbey near Soissons, France, of which Walter was fifth abbot.

⁸⁵ Arnold, third abbot of Arnsberg, founded in 1170, by Henry, Count of that place, in the diocese of Cologne.

⁸⁶ Considering the value of money in those days, this vestment would be exceedingly costly. There is another mentioned on July 12, which cost £6. 13s. 6d.

30. Commemoration of Serlo de Beyley, for whom a service shall be said for ever. And of Sir Thomas de Bella Aqua [Bellew ?] who gave us ten silver marks, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent for ever, with middle commendation.

[*July.*]

1. Commemoration of the Lady Matilda Lovetot, wife of Sir Gerard Furnivall, first Lord of Hallamshire, who gave us one mark of yearly rent for a pittance, from her mill in Sheffield, to be received on the day of St. Denis and his companions,⁸⁷ to sustain a solemn service for the souls of Sir Gerard, her husband, and herself, as appears by the charter which she gave us.
- 2.
3. Commemoration of Galfrid de Saham. And of Sir Robert de Raddecliffe, formerly abbot of this place.
4. Commemoration of Richard de Baltham, to whom is granted for ever a collect in the mass of the Blessed Mary.
5. Commemoration of Sir Stephen, formerly abbot of this place, to whom the general chapter granted that such a service should be said for him as is said for a deceased abbot.
6. Commemoration of Robert, abbot of Barlinges,⁸⁸ and of Radulph de Pecco, our canon, priest, and professed brother. A.D. 1320.
7. Commemoration of Ranulph, abbot of Stella.⁸⁹ And of Weneramus, abbot of St. Just.⁹⁰ And of Sir Radulph, formerly abbot of Neubo.

⁸⁷ October 9th. Dionysius or Denis, Bishop of Paris and Apostle of France, was martyred in A.D. 272, with his two deacons, Rusticus and Eleutherius.—Hamp-ton's "Kalendars of the Middle Ages."

⁸⁸ Near Lincoln, founded in 1154, by Ralph de la Haye. This abbey is celebrated in the history of the Lincolnshire Pilgrimage of Grace, and on account of abbot Matthew Mackerell, put to death by order of Henry VIII, 29th March, 1537.

⁸⁹ Stella, or Etoile, near Chateau-Regneauld, near Tours, of which abbey Ranulph was second abbot, in 1157.

⁹⁰ Weneramus, eleventh abbot of St. Just, near Beauvais.

8. Commemoration of William Putrel, our canon and assistant brother.
9. Commemoration of Nicholas Prime, our canon, priest, and professed brother. And of Thomas Clughe, and Agnes, his wife.
10. Commemoration of Henry Pegge, who gave to abbot eighty quarters of oats,⁹¹ and two marks and four pence, for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
11. Commemoration of Hugh, abbot of Mari (?). Commemoration of Sir Henry de Braylesforde, formerly patron of Dronfield Church, to whom is granted for ever a collect, to be said every day in the mass of St. Mary, or in the mass for the said Henry and his successors.
12. Commemoration of Countess of Warren. Commemoration of John Barneby, prior of this place, who gave us ten silver marks to buy a new vestment in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. He died A.D. 1420.
13. Commemoration of John Denby and Thomas Balyfeld, our canons, priests, and professed brothers.
14. Commemoration of Henry de Haworth.
- 15.
16. Commemoration of Arnald, abbot of Marnesberg.
17. Commemoration of William, our convert and brother.
18. Commemoration of Sir Richard Brasse, our canon and priest.
19. Commemoration of the pious memory of Master Elia de Napton, formerly archdeacon of Derbeye. And of Alice, formerly wife of Henry Pegge.
20. Commemoration of William de Manesfeld, our canon, priest, and professed brother. And of John Can, and Agnes his wife, our benefactors.
21. Commemoration of Gilbert Takel.
- 22.

⁹¹ Gifts of wheat, oats, wine, &c., are amongst the most common bequests to the abbey of Prémontré. *Taiée. Prémontré. Étude sur l'Abbaye de ce Nom, &c.*, Paris, 1872. Vol. i, 68 *et seq.*

23. Commemoration of Isabella de Norton, and Adam her son.
24. Commemoration of Henry, abbot of St. Radegund.⁹²
Hugh Martyn has a service with great commendation.
25. *Commemoratio Stacii* (?) *de Eyum* and of Henry de Tresk
[? Thirsk], our canon, priest, and professed brother, 1325.
And of Thomas de Alfreton, our canon, priest, and professed
brother.
26. Commemoration of Basma, wife of Galfrid de Greseleye.
27. Commemoration of Hugh Martyn, for whom a full service shall
be said in the convent, with great commendation, and for
whom a mass shall be celebrated for ever at the altar of St.
Katharine the Virgin. And of Alan de Castrefeld, our canon,
priest, and professed brother. And
28. Commemoration of Thomas Mahawde, our canon and professed
brother.
29. Commemoration of Radulph, formerly rector of the church of
Wytinton, who gave us 12 marks, to whom was granted . . .
Commemoration of Ferrand, Count of Flanders. And of Robert
de Lyne, for whom a full service shall be said in
the convent.
30. [*Erased*] formerly rector of the church at Hanchisworth [Hands-
worth] who gave us 9s. yearly rent in Byrcheyd for a pittance,
for whom a full service shall be said in the convent with great
commendation.
- 31.

[August.]

Gerard Furnyvall.

1. Commemoration of Nigel, abbot of Capel.⁹³ And of Robert,
abbot of St. Paul Verdun.⁹⁴ And of Nicholas, our canon and
brother.

⁹² At Bradsole, near Dover.

⁹³ There is no Nigel in the list of the abbots of Chapelle-aux-Planches. There was a Norbertine abbey called La Chapelle, near Toulouse.

⁹⁴ Robert was eleventh abbot of St. Paul, which is in Verdun, France.

2. Commemoration of Hugolin, son of Peter *Hugolinellus* (?), and Lusiana, his wife.
3. Commemoration of John de Kaworth [Chaworth], our brother and priest. And of Hugh de Sheffield, our canon and priest.
4. Commemoration of Auca (?), sister of Stephen, formerly our abbot.
5. Commemoration of Thomas de Rodmerthwait, our assistant canon. And of Gerard de Furnivall, son of Thomas de Furnivall the first, who gave us 30 acres of land in Fulwode; for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
6. Commemoration of Drogo, canon and founder of Guffer.⁹⁵ And of Galfrid, our canon and brother. And of Robert. . . .
7. Commemoration of John, abbot of St. Just. And of Godescalm, bishop of Arras, and Baldwin, abbot of the same place.
8. Commemoration of Matilda, mother of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.
Of Thwathweyt [*sic.*, perhaps Thomas Wathweyt], formerly prior of this place.
9. Commemoration of Henry the mason,⁹⁶ of Eccleshale.
10. [*A line entirely defaced.*]
11. Commemoration of Thomas, our lay brother. Commemoration of Radulph, the chaplain. And of William, the chaplain, called "Myriprest,"⁹⁷ for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
12. Commemoration of Baldwin, abbot *de Basso Fonte*. And of Galfrid, formerly abbot of Croxton.⁹⁸ And of Waldin, our canon and priest, of brother Thomas de Chesterfield, and of William de Hoton [Hutton], canon of this place.

⁹⁵ This Drogo was of the household of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, King of England, and wife of Henry V. of Germany. Matilda was a great benefactress to this abbey, generally called the Abbey of Silley, in the midst of the woods of Guffer, in Normandy.

⁹⁶ *Cementarius*.

⁹⁷ *i.e.* Mary Priest.

⁹⁸ In Leicestershire.

13. Commemoration of Roger, abbot of this place. And of Roger Ketil, our assistant-brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of Adam de Wymundewold.
14. Commemoration of Gascho, founder of the abbey of Habecurt,⁹⁹ and of Warin de Begley, and of Usceclin, his wife, for whom a service shall be said.

Commemoration of John le Masen, of Chesterfield, of Cecilia, his wife, and of their children, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.

15. Commemoration of Radulph de Haya, founder of the abbey of Barlings [Lincolnshire], and of Agnes de Blida.
16. *Commemoratio de Hundehowe*, and of Isabella, his wife.¹⁰⁰
The obit of William de Seliac [Selioko], of Chesterfield, our assistant-brother.

17. Commemoration of Ranulph Fitzwilliam, our advocate, and of Richard, prior of this place.

A.D. 1318. And of John de Staunford, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

18.

19. Commemoration of Ranulph, vicar of Norton. Of John de Horsley and Cecilia, his wife.

20. Commemoration of Henry de Thorpe, our canon and brother.

21. Commemoration of Hugh, abbot of Prémontré.¹⁰¹

22. Commemoration of John Fitzjohn, of Paddley.

23. Commemoration of Peter Gerald, abbot of Combe Longue.¹⁰²

24. Commemoration of Bartholomew, abbot of Verdun, and of Bertram de Verdun,¹⁰³ father of Agnes, our advocate.

Thomas Furnivall the first.

25. Commemoration of John Rovecester, Lord of Dore.

⁹⁹ *Alba Curia*, or Haubecurt, near Chartres, France.

¹⁰⁰ There is a place called Hundow, near Dronfield, a few miles from the abbey.

¹⁰¹ This Hugh was St. Norbert's first disciple, and his successor in Prémontré.

¹⁰² *Combe Longa*, near St. Licer, Pyrenées. Peter Gerald was its fifth abbot.

¹⁰³ He founded the Cistercian abbey of Croxden, in Staffordshire.

- Commemoration of John Rovecester, Lord of Dore, who gave us all his land in Dore,¹⁰⁴ to whom is freely granted every year, on the day of his death, a full service in the convent.
26. Commemoration of Godefroid, abbot of Chateau-Thierry.¹⁰⁵
27. Commemoration of William Durrant and Cecilia, his wife, for whom a service shall be said.
28. Commemoration of Radulf, abbot of Chopeholme,¹⁰⁶ and of Henry, abbot of *Vallis Serena*.
29. Commemoration of Henry Hosat, founder of the Abbey of Bereford,¹⁰⁷ and of Thomas de Cukeny, founder of Wellebec. And of Robert, abbot of Leystone. And of John de Byghley and Margaret, his wife, for whom a service shall be said.
30. Commemoration of Haymon, first abbot of Habecurt. And the commemoration of Thomas de Furnivall the First, and his heirs, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of Richard de Rodderham, our canon and professed brother.
31. Commemoration of William de Hauberville, founder of Langdune Abbey.¹⁰⁸ And of Margaret de Morisburch. And of Alice de Brackley, mother of William, abbot of Croxton. And of Dionysia of Canterbury, mother of Sir William de Langeton.

[September.]

- I. Commemoration of Gerald, abbot of Antwerp,¹⁰⁹ and of Galfrid Suteris, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent; and of Robert, our convert and brother.

¹⁰⁴ *Totam terram de Dore*. Either all his land in Dore, or the whole village.

¹⁰⁵ Godefroid was first abbot of Chateau-Thierry (*Castellum Therri*), also named *Vallis Secreta* or Valsecret, Aisne, France.

¹⁰⁶ Tufholme, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, founded about 1167 by Alan and Gilbert de Neville.

¹⁰⁷ Dureford, Sussex, which, according to Dugdale, was founded by Robert Hoese, is probably the abbey mentioned here.

¹⁰⁸ West Langdon, Kent, founded in 1192 by William de Auberville.

¹⁰⁹ St. Michael of Antwerp. Probably Gerald de Lyra, its fifteenth abbot.

2. Commemoration of Sampson, chaplain of Ayum [Eyam]. Commemoration of Nicholas Cook [*cocus*], who gave . . . six marks and a half, for whom a service shall be said.
3. Commemoration of David, first abbot of Lavindene.
4. Commemoration of Richard, our canon and brother; and of Thomas Cote, of Doncastre, our brother . . .
5. Commemoration of Sir Norman Power, and of Sir John Coke, Robert Power, and John Merewood, our assistant brother.
6. Commemoration of Ernaburga, mother of Sir Robert, abbot of Barlinges; of John Seiton, our canon and professed brother.
7. Commemoration of Richard de Stafford.
8. Commemoration of brother Robert de Folkingham, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

Be it remembered, that, on the Lord's Day, at the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary . . . was received as a brother of this house with . . . and there was granted to him [on the day of] his death a full service for ever.

Commemoration of the Lady Alice, formerly wife of Sir Thomas Fovanbe (*sic*.)

9. Commemoration of Robert Fitzranulph, canon, and founder of this place, who gave us four churches, that is to say, Nortone, Alfreton, Wymondewolde, and Edwalton, for whom a solemn service¹¹⁰ shall be said in the convent.

Commemoration of William, abbot of Alnewich. Of Jordan, formerly abbot of this place. And of Robert de Chaworth.

And the site of the abbey which begins thus:—From Quintinwell along the brooklet which descends into the river Scheth, and along the course of the river Scheth to Le Broke, and so as you ascend along the Le Broke (*sic*) as far as Tachellforth, and so from Tachellforth as far as Hulstorth, and from Hulstorth across the hill to Grenhyll hege, and from Grenhyll

¹¹⁰ *Solempne servicium* is used nowhere else in the obituary, except September 18. No doubt the founder's day would be kept with great rejoicing and feasting, especially as it was so near the harvest festival.

to Quintin well. These are the boundaries of the site of the abbey of Bewchiff.¹¹¹

Commemoration of John Martyn, our assistant brother, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of Thomas, son of Thomas Chaworth, knight, who died on this day A.D. 1485.¹¹²

10. Commemoration of Count Otho, founder of Varlar.¹¹³ And of Matthew de Bawquelle (Bakewell), our assistant brother, for whom a service shall be said in the convent with middle commendation. And of Richard de Remston, canon and professed brother of this house.
14. Commemoration of Everard, abbot of Berne.¹¹⁴ And of Roger de Marcham, and Albreda, his wife. And of Thomas, our canon and brother.
15. Commemoration of Matthew, our canon and brother. And of Sir Ingelram, abbot of Barlinges. And of William, our convert and brother.

Commemoration of Thomas Dynham, our assistant brother, and Johanna, his wife.

Robert Rivers.

16. Commemoration of Sir Robert Rivers, formerly rector of a moiety of the church of Ekyntone, to whom the fraternity of this church is granted; that is to say, that he may be a partaker in all the good things and spiritual benefits which now belong, or which hereafter may belong, to the monastery of the said church, as in masses, psalms, hours, vigils, prayers,

¹¹¹ This description comes in rather awkwardly. The canons appear to have had great troubles about the boundaries of their possessions. We have seen that the chartulary contains two deeds of grant of the site of the abbey, considerably different from each other. Quintin Well (stupidly corrupted into Twenty Well) is very plain here.

¹¹² The days of the obituary are probably the days on which the persons commemorated died.

¹¹³ *Locus Varlariensis*. Blessed Otho founded the abbey of Varlar, near Munster, in Westphalia, as his brother had founded that of Cappenberg.

¹¹⁴ This Everard was the first abbot of Berne, near St. Hertogenbosch, Holland, founded by a colony from Isle St. Mary or Marienweerd.

fastings, afflictions, disciplines, works, charity, hospitality, and all other works of mercy and spiritual benefits. Adding, moreover, that the day of his anniversary shall be celebrated with a solemn service and a mass in the convent, every year, for ever.

17. Commemoration of Radulph Leche, of Bubnyll, our assistant brother. And of Emma, his wife, for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
- 18.
19. Commemoration of Louis,¹¹⁵ King of the French.
20. Commemoration of Adam, our assistant brother.
21. Commemoration of John Fitzherbert and his wife, and all his children, and his . . . who assisted us in many things, whom we received into the fraternity and participation of our . . .
- 22.
23. Commemoration of Peter de Harope. And of Richard, our canon and brother. And of Roulf, our convert and brother. And of Susanna de Begheleye [Beeley] and Margaret her sister, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent. And of brother William de Dronfeld, our canon and brother. And of brother William de Eylborn, formerly vicar of Norton. Sir Thomas Chaworth.
24. Commemoration of the happy memory of Sir Thomas de Chaworth, our advocate, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent with great commendation, and for whom a mass shall be celebrated for ever at the altar of St. Katherine the Virgin. A.D. 1314. He gave us Grenhyll and Wodecetes, with divers parcels of rent and land in Alfreton. And of Dionysia, sister of Saint Mary of Brodholm.¹¹⁶ And of William de Bircheved, our brother and convert. 1336

¹¹⁵ Most likely Louis IX., who died 1270, and was canonised by Pope Boniface VIII. as "Saint Louis," in 1297.

¹¹⁶ Brodholm, a Norbertine nunnery, founded near St. Botolph's church, Saxelby, Nottinghamshire, by Ralph D'Albiniaco, and afterwards endowed by Peter de Gousel, Agnes de Camville, and Sarra, their daughter.

- 26.
27. Commemoration of Walter, abbot of *Valtris*. And of Ranulph de Glanville, founder of Leystone Abbey. And of Valentine, abbot of Dereford.¹¹⁷ And of Simon, abbot of Ladale.
28. Commemoration of Walter, our canon and brother, and of William de Videville, founder of Welleford Abbey.¹¹⁸ And of Sir Ivo, formerly abbot of this place.
- 29.
30. Commemoration of Richard, abbot of Arden.¹¹⁹

[October.]

1. Commemoration of William, abbot of Retorta [Spain.]
2. Commemoration of Sir Osbert, formerly abbot of Newhouse.
3. . . . Deynhall, and Isabella, his wife.
4. [*Three lines entirely defaced, and illegible.*]
5. Commemoration of Sir Stephen Power, formerly vicar of Whymondswold, our priest and professed brother.
6. Commemoration of Alfric, our lay brother.
7. Commemoration of Gaufrid, abbot of Ressons. Commemoration of Adam, abbot of Alba Landa.
8. Commemoration of Bartholomew, abbot of Langesdun [West Langdon.]

Thomas Gomfray.

9. Commemoration of Johanna, daughter of Radulph Fitz-Nicholas. And of brother John de Blida, our canon and priest. And of brother Peter de Keten, our canon, priest, and professed brother. In the year of grace, 1319.

¹¹⁷ Dureford, in Suffolk.

¹¹⁸ A Norbertine abbey, was first founded in Wilford, 1155, by William de Wydeville; the abbey was afterwards removed to Sulby, near Market Harborough.

¹¹⁹ Near Caen. The only Richard in the list of the abbots of Arden is Richard de la Val, who died 20th March, 1496. Nearly all the abbots whose names appear in the necrology lived in the 12th or 13th century.

10. Commemoration of Sir Thomas Gomfray,¹²⁰ formerly rector of the church of Dronfield, for whom a service shall be said in vigils and in mass, by two canons, who, with the vicar or chaplain for the time being of the same church, shall say *Placbo* and *Dirige*, with music,¹²¹ and on the following day shall say a mass of requiem, with music, and with the burning of two wax candles, and shall distribute 13d. to the poor of the same church and parish.
12. Commemoration of William, abbot of Solebi.¹²²
Commemoration of the pious memory of Master John Derbye, formerly Dean of Litchfield, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent for ever. He died A.D. 1300.
- 13.
- 14.
15. Commemoration of Peter de Gousla, founder of the Abbey of Newhouse. And of Robert de Eccleshall. And of Walter de Wheteley, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
16. Commemoration of William, abbot *de Bosco Ranulfi*.¹²³

¹²⁰ These Gomfrays, who were of Wormhill, in Derbyshire, appear to have been people of some note. The Thomas Gomfray here mentioned, together with his brother Richard, are buried in the chancel of Dronfield church, where is a monumental brass, representing two priests, habited in copes, with a bugle horn suspended on a ribbon between them. Under the first is the legend: *Hic jacet Thomas Gomfray de Wormehul, quondam rector ecclesie de Dronfeld, qui obiit XIo. die Novembris, anno domini MCCCCLXXX nono, et sub ipso jacet dominus Rogerus Brailesford, dudum rector dicte ecclesie de Dronsfield. Novembris is, I apprehend, a mistake for Octobris, for he is commemorated on the 11th October. Under the other is written: Hic jacet dominus Richardus Gomfray, quondam rector de Tatenhall, et prebendar' de Smerchal, in capella regis de Penkruch, et frater dicti Thome, qui obiit anno domini mill' mo c c c . . . quorum animabus proficietur Deus.* He was prebend of Somerchal in the collegiate church of Penkriche.

¹²¹ *Dirige* and *Placbo* are the beginnings of the antiphons to the Vespers and First Nocturn (respectively) for the dead. *Cum nota* means that the mass was to be sung with music, as opposed to a low mass, at which there was only monotone. The word *nota* will be observed several times in the margin. "Requiem" is the first word of the *Missa pro Defunctis*, which begins *Requiem aeternam*, &c. 13d. was generally given on these occasions. The number 13 is allusive to Christ and his Apostles.

¹²² Sulbey, Northamptonshire.

¹²³ There is no such place in the list of Norbertine abbeys. Many abbeys, however, had two names, as we have seen before in this necrology.

Gerard Furnyvall and Thomas Grecton.

17. Commemoration of Richard our convert and brother. And of Sir William, abbot of Wellebech. And of Sir William, abbot of Lavindene.

<p><i>Nota.</i> [i.e. with music.]</p>	{	<p>18. Commemoration of Sir Gerard Furnivall the first, who gave us sufficient pasture in his forest of Fulwode for 30 cows, with their young under three years old,¹²⁴ and one acre of land to build our cottages upon,¹²⁵ and who also gave us 20s. rent from his mill of Sheffield, to sustain the lamp of our church, for whom a service shall be said in the convent with great commendation.¹²⁶</p>
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19. Commemoration of Robert, our canon, priest, and brother.
20. Commemoration of Ronald, founder of the abbey *De Divite Monte*. And of Herbert, abbot of St. Martin de Castello.¹²⁷ Commemoration of Thomas de Grecton, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, and for whom a mass shall be said for ever at the altar of St. Katherine.
21. Commemoration of Cecilia, wife of William Clerk, of Riche-mund; and of William, our canon and brother; and of brother William Mylner, formerly vicar of Wymundiswolde.
22. Commemoration of Robert, our lay brother.
- 23.
24. Commemoration of Sir Richard, formerly abbot of Wellebech; and of Radulph de Fulestowe, formerly abbot of this place; and of brother John de Nortone. . . . professed brother of this house.

Thomas de Belay.

¹²⁴ *Cum exitu earum trium annorum.*

¹²⁵ *Ad logias nostras faciendas.* These may have been either huts for the neatherds, or winter sheds for the cattle.

¹²⁶ Gerard de Furnival I. died at Jerusalem, 3 Hen. III. (Pegge, 154).

¹²⁷ Herbert was third abbot of Chateau l' Abbaye, dedicated to St. Martin, Valenciennes.

- 25.
26. Commemoration of Thomas de Beley, who confirmed all the charters and donations of his ancestors, for whom a full service shall be said, with middle commendation.
27. Commemoration of Richard, our canon and brother.
28. Commemoration of Count Lodowic, canon of M. S. (?) Nicholas in Arestan, founder of the Five Cloisters.¹²⁸
29. Commemoration of Roger de Audewert [Aldwark ?] for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, with middle commendation. And of Peter, our convert and brother. Of Mavicia de Staveley, and of Robert de Belgrave.
- 30.
31. Commemoration of Thomas, our convert and brother.
William Danyell and John Danyell.¹²⁹

[November.]

- 1.
- 2.
3. Commemoration of Matilda de Belewe.
4. Commemoration of Gilbert, abbot of Mount St. Martin. And of Serlo de Begley, our canon and assistant brother.
5. Commemoration of Baldwin, abbot of Alnewick.
6. Commemoration of William, bishop of Brandenburg, and of Almuric, bishop of Sidon.
7. Commemoration of Richard, son of William Danyell, of Tyddeswell, who gave us 20s. yearly rent from his tenements in Goltorpe, that is to say 12s. to sustain the lamp of the Blessed Mary, and 8s. for a pittance to the convent. Also the commemoration of John, the son of Richard Danyell, who gave us 11s. of yearly rent in Swyntone and Bylinglay, for whom a service shall be said in the convent with great commendation.

¹²⁸ Blessed Ludovicus, or Lewis, founded, 1133, the abbey of Arnstein, Germany.

¹²⁹ These are merely the words at the top of the page, intended probably for reference.

8. Commemoration of Sir Thomas de Donecastre, formerly abbot of this house.
9. Commemoration of John de Horsley, abbot of Dale. A.D. 1333. Commemoration of Richard Baret¹³⁰ and Isabella his wife. Of Hugh Bronage and Mary his wife. Of John Pleyter, John Norton and Isabella his wife, who gave us 40s., and to one of our canons gave 4d.
10. Commemoration of Peter Fitz-Adam of Norhampton, and Emma his wife, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
And of Matilda del Clay in Wymundeswold, who gave the convent one mark for the use of the church, and one cartload of lead to the chancel of Wymundwold.¹³¹ And of Juliana Cruser of the same place, for all of whom the aforesaid service shall be said.
11. Commemoration of Adam, abbot of Crockestune.
12. Commemoration of Alice de Tresk [Thirsk?] and of William her husband, for whom a service shall be said in the convent.
13. Commemoration of Adam, abbot of Mount St. Martin.¹³²
Commemoration of Robert Moor, of Handysworth, and Alice his wife, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
14. Commemoration of brother Robert de Coventre, canon and priest of this house. And of Robert de Wygley.
15. Commemoration of Arnulf, abbot of the Isle of St. Mary.¹³³

¹³⁰ Probably of Lightwood, in Norton. In the 4th year of Henry IV., on the feast of Palm branches, John Baret de Lyghtwode, and Alice his wife, grant to John de Lyghtwode some land, park, and wood (*boscum*) in Southfeld, which had been given them by William Seliok, together with a right of way across the land of Lightwood, as far as Notel Place. Witnesses: William Powe, Robert Alane, Thomas Pasteley, John Parkar, John Bullock, Thomas Parkar, and others. Deed *penes* Rev. H. H. Pearson. Povey, a hamlet adjoining Lightwood, most likely takes its name from the surname Powe, *i.e.* Powe-hay, Powe's field. So Macker-hay (Magathay), from the surname Macker. See hereafter.

¹³¹ *Unam carectatam [plumbi].*

¹³² Near Castalet, in France.

¹³³ See *ante*, Jan. 11th.

And of Johanna de Waudone, formerly Lady of Ecclesale, for whom a service shall be said.

Commemoration of brother John de Rodyrham, our canon, priest, and professed brother, formerly vicar of Alfreton.

16. Commemoration of Richard, our canon and brother.
17. Commemoration of Helewida, our advocate. And of Jocelyn, abbot of *Regis Vallis*.¹³⁴ And of William, abbot of Alba Landa. And of brother Henry de Wynggworth [Wingerworth], our canon, priest, and professed brother. A.D. 1320.
18. Commemoration of Arnold, abbot of the Isle of St. Mary. And of William de Roteland, formerly prior of this place.
19. Commemoration of Simon, abbot of *Regis Vallis*. And of Sir John de Rib . . . ,¹³⁵ formerly vicar of Sheffield, who gave us
20. Commemoration of Roger de Dugmanton [Duckmanton], our assistant brother, for whom such a service shall be said in the convent as is said for a deceased brother.
21. Commemoration of Reyner, our canon, priest, and professed brother.
22. Commemoration of Robert Gilbert and Emma, his wife, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
23. Commemoration of Henry, prior of this place.
Roger de Chestrefeld, chaplain.
24. Commemoration of Hugh, father of Stephen, formerly our abbot. And of William Brewer, founder of the Abbey of Thorta.¹³⁶
25. Commemoration of Sir Thomas de Chaworth, the second
1348.

¹³⁴ There were two abbeys called Royaval in France, near Toul. The one was named *Regia Vallis*, near Commercy, but the names Jocelyn and Simon (below) are not in the list of its abbots. The other was named *Kengis Vallis*, sometimes *Regis Vallis*, near Toul, an affiliation of *Regia Vallis*, near Commercy. Simon Brisset was its first abbot, and Ancelinus (not Jocelyn) its twelfth.

¹³⁵ Ryby or Dryby, instituted 1338. *Hunter's Hallamshire, Gatty's Edition*, p. 268.

¹³⁶ Torr, in Devonshire, the wealthiest house of the order in England, except Croxton.

26. Commemoration of Sir James,¹³⁷ abbot of Mount St. Martin. And of Robert, our canon and brother. Commemoration of the pious memory of the Lady Isabella Chaworth, wife of Sir Thomas Chaworth, our advocate, and daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury.
27. Commemoration of Jocelyn, abbot of *Regis Vallis*.
28. Commemoration of Master Robert . . . who died on the 2nd November.
29. Commemoration of Sir Roger de Chestrefeld, who gave us a new vestment of green colour, embroidered with gold, and a hundred silver shillings, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent, with middle commendation.
30. Commemoration of John, abbot of Lieu Dieu.¹³⁸ And of John Fox and Isabella his wife, of Wymunswold, who gave us a large brass pot.¹³⁹

[December.]

William de Gryngeli.

1. Commemoration of Christian, abbot of Souleseat.¹⁴⁰ Commemoration of William de Kychin, our assistant brother, who gave us a new missal. He died A.D. 1411. Commemoration of Richard Cowell, our assistant brother.
2. Commemoration of Roger, first abbot of Hales, and of Richard, chaplain of Ekington.
3. Commemoration of Agnes, formerly wife of Roger de Audewerc [Aldwark], who gave us . . . for a pittance . . . with great commendation.

¹³⁷ James, abbot of Mount St. Martin, usually called *Jacobus Atrebas*, or James of Arras, author of some religious writings, the was 9th abbot.

¹³⁸ Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard (*Locus Dei*), in the diocese of Luçon, was founded by Richard I., King of England. It was Premonstratentian. John was second abbot of Lieu Dieu.

¹³⁹ *Magnam ollam eneam*. A copper used in the bakery.

¹⁴⁰ Sauleseat, or Souleseat (*Sedes Animarum*), also called Green Pool, or *Viride Stagnum*, three miles from Stranraer, Wigton, Scotland, founded in 1170 by Fergus, Laird of Galloway.

4. Commemoration of Sir William de Gringlei, our brother, for whom a mass shall be celebrated for ever at the altar of the Holy Cross, and a full service shall be said in the convent on the day of his anniversary, for he built us the chamber which is called "Grenlyf Chawmbur," and [made] the "causey" of the great pool as far as Norberne.¹⁴¹
5. Commemoration of Sir Thomas de Chaworth the third. In the year of grace 1370.
Commemoration of Sir John Lorde, our canon, priest, and professed brother, who died A.D. 1439. May God be merciful to his soul!
6. Commemoration of Thomas Galeth *Comia* (?), and our brother.
7. Commemoration of Sir Roger Leche, Knight, of Birthyll (?), and Emma, his wife, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent on the day of their anniversary. He died A.D. 1416. May God be merciful to his soul! Amen.
- 8.

William Chaworth.

9. Commemoration of William de Folkyngham, father of Sir William, formerly abbot of this place, and of Cecilia his mother, and Richard his brother, and all his ancestors, for whom a full service shall be said in the convent.
- 10.
11. Commemoration of Peter, our canon and brother. And of Galfrid, our canon and brother.
12. Of Sir Richard Oxley, formerly priest of the Guild of the Holy Cross at Chesterfield.

¹⁴¹ *Qui edificavit cameram, que vocatur Grenlyf Chawmbur, et causey magni stagni usque Norberne.* The "Grenlyf Chamber" is mentioned in the inventory taken at the dissolution. It may have been so called after the name of its architect (Gringley), which seems most probable; or on account of its mural decorations, which may have been green leaves painted on the walls, and intended to form a rebus on the builder's name. The fish-ponds (*vivaria*), of which there are three, are close to the abbey, the great pool being the uppermost. The "causey" of the pool is, I suppose, its bank, the original meaning of causey, causeway (O. F. *caussie*) being a bank or piece of raised ground in a marshy place.

13. Commemoration of Michael, our canon and brother.
- 14.
15. Commemoration of William, abbot of Lacu.¹⁴²
16. Commemoration of the happy memory of Sir William de Chaworth, for whom a service shall be said. In the year of our Lord 1398, and in the 22nd year of the reign of King Richard, from the Conquest the IIInd.
17. Commemoration of Richard de Cestrefeld, and of Norman, our convert and brother.
18. Commemoration of . . . de Beghtron, and Cicilia his wife, and of all their children, assistant brothers and sisters of this house.
19. Commemoration of Roesa, mother of Agnes, our advocate. And of Robert Bele, our miller. And of Robert Bowland, our priest and professed brother.
- 20.
21. Commemoration of Thomas de Tikill, our canon and brother.
- 22.
23. Commemoration of Sir Clement, abbot of Warling [Barlings]. And of brother William de Lichefeld, our canon and professed brother.
24. Commemoration of Senelma, mother of Gilbert, our abbot. And of John Norton, formerly prior of this place.
25. Commemoration of brother William
Commemoration of Sir John Clyston, formerly vicar of Wymswold, our priest and professed brother, on whose soul may God have mercy! Amen.
26. Commemoration of Henry, abbot of Mount Sion.¹⁴³ And of John Orton, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

¹⁴² Probably the Swiss abbey of Lac-de-Joux.

¹⁴³ Henry was 4th abbot of Mons Sion, or Stratrow, near Prague, Bohemia, founded by Ladislaus in 1136. This celebrated abbey is still in existence, and possesses the relics of St. Norbert, translated from Magdeburg.

27. Commemoration of Sir Robert Furnewes,¹⁴⁴ lord of Beghtone, who gave us our grange of Birlay, with the adjacent lands, and our meadow in Beghtone, which is called "Drinmedew and Ormeland," and common pasture for 200 sheep in Westwode. And of Sir Gervase de Bernak, his successor, who confirmed his gift, and gave us, moreover, 12s. yearly rent, with all its appurtenances, in Le Brome, near Rotherham, and common pasture in Padelay, for whom a service shall be said with great commendation.
28. Commemoration of Escelo, abbot of the Isle,¹⁴⁵ and of Hereward, abbot of Cockersand.
29. Commemoration of Robert Becton, Lord of Walton, and of Hugh, his son, who gave us a part of Waltonhay, in the demesne which is called Hastewode, as appears by his charter; for whom a service shall be said.
30. Commemoration of brother William Leyceter, who died A.D.¹⁴⁶ . .
31. Commemoration of brother Thomas, our canon, priest, and professed brother.

And of brother William de Shefeld, our canon, priest, and professed brother."

¹⁴⁴ This name is variously spelt—Furneaux, Furness, Furniss, &c.

¹⁴⁵ Escello or Hesselius, 2nd abbot of the Isle St. Mary, called also Marienweerd, Holland.

¹⁴⁶ There is a Papal bull concerning the appointment of one William Leyceter to the vicarage of Rotherham. (See Guest's *Historic Notices of Rotherham*.) It is not unlikely that William gave up his benefice and became professed at Beauchief. It was no unusual thing for secular clergymen to retire to monasteries and end their days there. Roger de Bakewell, Vicar of Dronfield, retired to the Carmelites at Doncaster. (See hereafter.)

CHAPTER IV.

*The Chaworths—Gift of the village of Greenhill—Abbey not to be sued in the Court Baron—
Early References to Arbitration—Curious Agricultural Custom—Coal-mining in the 14th
century—Will of Sir Thomas Chaworth.*

THE family of Chaworth, who succeeded the De Alfretons at Norton, Alfreton, and other lordships, are closely connected with the Abbey, both as benefactors and patrons, for a period of more than three centuries. Their gifts of land and grants of privileges fill a great part of the conventual chartulary. Accordingly it will be proper to notice some of their more important and noteworthy acts, and, in doing so, I shall not again walk over the ground which Dr. Pegge has trod before me, but chiefly confine myself to matters which he has either omitted or not understood.

In the first place, then, I shall here insert a couple of Latin charters, which I copy from the original documents.¹ The first is a deed of great importance, for it confers on the monastery the whole village of Greenhill.

“[*Circa* A.D. 1300.]

“*Carta de Grenehull, in qua continetur specialiter mora.*²

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas de Chawurth, miles, Dominus de Norton, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Beati Thome Martiris de Bello Capite, et religiosis viris abbati et conventui ejusdem loci, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime mee, et patris mei, et matris mee, uxorum mearum, et omnium antecessorum et succes-

¹ In the possession of the Rev. H. H. Pearson, Vicar of Norton.

² There had been a previous grant of the village of Greenhill, in which the moor (*mora*) was not mentioned. The moor would be a marshy waste lying between Norton and Greenhill. Stage coach travellers have spoken of it as the coldest place on the road between London and York.

sorum meorum, et pro sustentacione unius canonici divina perpetuo celebrantis ad altare Sancti Crucis in ecclesia predicta, pro anima mea, et animabus predictorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, totum illud hameletum meum, quod vocatur Grenehull, in soca de Norton, et omnes tenentes meos, tam liberos quam nativos,³ cum omnibus catallis et sequelis⁴ suis, et eorum tenementis, redditibus, et serviciis eorundem, et omnibus aliis eorum proventibus, homagiis, wardis,⁵ releviis,⁶ marchetis,⁷ maritagiiis,⁸ auxiliis,⁹ recognicionibus,¹⁰ cariagiis,¹¹ consuetudinibus, sectis curiarum,¹² et omnimodis aliis sectis, et serviciis, cum tota illa mora que vocatur 'Grenehull More,' sicut plenius (?) jacet per certas divisas,¹³ et cum omnibus aliis moris, marchis, et marescis, boscis, planis, viis, semitis, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis, turbariis, quareris, mineris, et omnimodis aliis comoditatibus, libertatibus, communiis, et aysiammentis, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis quibuscunque, que michi¹⁴ et heredibus vel assignatis meis, vel heredibus heredum vel assignatorum meorum, de predicto hameleto Grenehull et tenentibus et tenementis eorundem

³ *Nativi* are bondmen. The grant of an estate usually included the villeins attached to it.

⁴ *Sequels* means the wives and families of the bondmen, who are also included in the transfer. I have seen the word applied to a litter of young pigs.

⁵ If the heir were under age, the lord had, under the name of *wardship*, the custody of his body and land, without account of the profits, till the age of 21 in males and 16 in females.

⁶ *Relief*.—A certain sum of money which the tenant, holding by knight's service, paid to his lord upon entrance at the death of his ancestor.

⁷ *Merchet*, or *Maiden-rent*.—A sum of money which the tenant had to pay to his lord for permission to marry his (the tenant's) daughter. Also, *jus primæ noctis*.

⁸ *Marriages*.—The lord had the right, if he thought fit, to dispose of his tenants' daughters in marriage.

⁹ *Aids*.—Mere benevolences rendered to the lord in times of difficulty and distress.

¹⁰ Qu. ?

¹¹ I imagine this must mean the right which the lord had to compel his vassals to manure his fields.

¹² Suit of court. The abbey was a manor, and held a great Court Baron.

¹³ Boundaries.

¹⁴ *Sic pro mihi*.

poterint evenire impperpetuum quoquo modo, sine aliquo retene-
mento, tenendum et habendum sibi, et successoribus suis, libere,
quiete, pacifice, et integre, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosi-
nam, sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et quietius dari poterit et
concedi. Et ego predictus Thomas, et heredes, et assignati mei,
et heredes heredum vel assignatorum meorum, predictum hamele-
tum Grenehull, tenentes ac tenementa eorundem, cum omnibus
pertinenciis suis, sicut predictum est, predictis religiosis abbati et
conventui de Bello Capite predictis, et eorum successoribus, in
liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, contra omnes gentes
warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et impperpetuum defendemus. In
cujus rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum apposui; his
testibus Domino Ricardo de Furneys, Domino Waltero de Goushull,
Domino Ad' de Everingham, militibus; Domino Rogero de Brails-
ford rectore ecclesie de Dronfeld; Willelmo Le Bret, Johanne de
Ayncourt, Rogero Le Breton, Ad' de Rerisby, Petro de Brimington,
Hugone de Linacre, et aliis."

The second is a quit-claim, in duplicate. Both the deeds are
very beautifully written, with ornamental capitals, seals of green wax
being appended with good impressions of the Chaworth arms.

"[1312.]

*"Carta confirmacionis duplicata domini Thome de Chaworch, filii
domini Willelmi de Chaworch.*

"Omnibus ad quorum noticiam hoc presens scriptum pervenerit,
Thomas de Chaworch, miles, filius quondam domini Willelmi de
Chaworch, militis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me
concessisse, confirmasse, et omnino de me et heredibus meis quietum
clamasse impperpetuum, religiosis viris Abbati et conventui de Bello
capite, et eorum successoribus, omnes terras et tenementa, redditus,
advocaciones ecclesiarum, jura, possessiones, ac libertates quas-
cunque, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, que et quas ydem Abbas et
conventus habent de dono et concessione domini Thome de
Chaworch avi mei, ceterorumque antecessorum meorum, in villis de
Wymundewold, in comitatu Leygcastr, et Marnham in comitatu

Notingham, et in sokis de Norton et Alfreton in comitatu Derbeye, habenda et tenenda in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam; ita quod nec ego predictus Thomas filius Willelmi predicti, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis per nos, seu nomine nostro, aliquod jus, vel clameum, vel calumpniam, in prenominationis terris, tenementis, redditibus, advocacionibus, juribus, possessionibus, ac libertatibus, nec in aliqua parte eorundem, seu eorum pertinenciis, exigere vel vendicare de cetero poterimus quoquo modo. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui; hiis testibus dominis Thoma de Furnival, Ad' de Everingham, Roberto de Waddesley militibus, domino Rogero de Braylesford rectore ecclesie de Dronefeld, Wilhelmo le Brett, Johanne de Ayncourt, Hugone Lynakre, et aliis. Datum apud Bellum Caput, in festo sancti Martini episcopi, anno gratie millesimo CCC mo duodecimo, quod est anno regni domini Edwardi regis, filii regis Edwardi, sexto."

I have said before that I shall not notice the numerous benefactions of this family in the extensive manner of the antiquary who has laboured in the same field before me. But there are one or two curious matters to which I would draw attention.

The following grant,¹⁵ which Sir Thomas Chaworth made in favour of the abbey, some time before the year 1314, is of singular interest, both as showing the encroachments which the ecclesiastics of the day had begun to make upon the civil tribunals, and a ready mode of administering justice, such as we should hardly expect to meet with so early as the 14th century. It is called in the title *valde necessaria*, a phrase which plainly shows that the canons could ill brook the jurisdiction of the ordinary Court Baron. After reciting that he was desirous "that the canons should perform their holy ministrations with devotion and tranquillity, that grace might more abound" (*gratiam facere uberiorem*), Sir Thomas declares:—"It is my will and pleasure, and, for myself and my heirs, I declare, that if it shall hereafter happen (which God forbid!) that the said abbot

¹⁵ The originals of this and the following charter are partly in Pegge.

and convent, or their vassals or tenants, or any of them, shall be guilty of any offence against me or my heirs, or my or their vassals and tenants, or shall be guilty of any contempt of court or transgression, whether in things personal or real, they shall not on that account be summoned, distrained, or attached to answer before me, my heirs, vassals or tenants, in our courts of Norton and Alfreton, or elsewhere; but if any offence of this sort shall happen, fines and punishments shall be taken and awarded at Norton Church, if the dispute shall arise there; or at Alfreton Church, if the dispute shall arise there, and in no other places, and *the dispute shall be settled by the inspection and assent of good and lawful men chosen for the purpose by the consent of the parties, as between neighbour and neighbour*, and in no other manner." We may gather from this, especially as we are told that the matter was "very urgent" (*valde necessaria*), that the canons had been far from satisfied with the manner in which justice had been administered in the Courts Baron; and it is refreshing to read that they should have adopted such an equitable mode of settling their disputes.

Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebant.

Though this was only a compact entered into between the lord of a particular manor and the inmates of a particular religious house, and is, perhaps, too favourable an example of the fashions of the times, it is needless to add it was a step in the right direction, even though it had a tendency to aggrandize the ecclesiastical at the expense of the civil power. It prevented the ecclesiastical court on the one hand, and the court baron on the other, from exercising despotic authority, both being equally willing to refer their disputes to the consciences of good and honest men.

References to arbitration, however, do not appear to have been uncommon in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the year 1402, the monks of Roche, in Yorkshire, had a dispute with John Myrfin "del Seton" about the ownership of a piece of land immediately adjacent to their abbey. Through the intervention of friends, and by the order of Thomas de Nevill, Lord of Furnivall, the dispute was

referred to the decision of two arbitrators, viz., Edmund Fitzwilliam and Jocelyn Deyvill, who, advised by John de Folgeam and Thomas de Harlington, gentlemen learned in the law (*jurisperiti*), made their award in favour of the convent, declaring that Myrfin had no evidence whatever to produce, and that his claim was founded on fabulous and dilatory stories (*verba fabulosa et dilatoria*).¹⁶

But, perhaps, the most curious of the charters relating to this family is the following grant, made by the last-named Sir Thomas Chaworth:—

“I give and grant to the abbot and convent liberty and power to cleanse (*emundare*) their lands and the lands of their tenants, as well free men as bondmen, from golds, according to the custom of the manors of Norton and Alfreton, and if they find any neglect in this respect, they may punish their tenants and receive fines from them, just as they have heretofore been punished by me and my ancestors; so that neither I, nor my heirs, will interfere in the said cleansing. Nor shall the abbot and convent, if any neglect be found in the cleansing of their own corn fields from the said golds, be punished or blamed, but shall for ever hereafter remain in peace,” &c.¹⁷

The lexicographers, from Du Cange downwards, have all mistaken the meaning of *golda*, and, quoting only this charter, have ascribed to it the absurd meaning of a “mill-dam.” It is obviously, however, a yellow weed growing amongst corn, and may be either the corn-marigold (*chrysanthemum segetum*), or the charlock (*sinapis arvensis*). Chaucer, in his *Knight's Tale* (l. 1392) mentions

“Jelausie

“That wered of yelwe *goldes* a gerlond.”

Lightfoot, in his *Flora Scotica*, adds to his description of the corn-marigold the following remark:—

“These golden flowers turn to the sun all day, an ornament to the corn-fields, and afford a pleasing sight to the passenger, but are

¹⁶ I have obtained this information from a copy of some Roche Abbey charters in the possession of W. F. Hoyle, Esq., Hooton Levett Hall, Yorkshire.

¹⁷ Chartul; as in Pegge.

so very detrimental to the husbandman that a law is in force in Denmark which obliges the inhabitants everywhere to eradicate them out of their grounds.”¹⁸

The same law, then, which is now enforced in Denmark, was enforced at Beauchief 500 years ago. I have every reason to think, however, that the weed intended in the charter is not the corn-marigold, but the charlock; for I have often noticed the rank luxuriance of the latter in the corn fields of the villages to which this injunction was intended to apply.

We learn from the Chartulary that coal was worked at Cold-Aston and Alfreton as early as the beginning of the 14th century; for Sir Thomas gives the canons permission to dig for it “in the land belonging to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin in Alfreton, in the land of their own tenants, and in their land and wastes in the manors of Alfreton and Norton.” Now, as Cold-Aston is part of the Manor of Norton, there can be no doubt that coal was got there, as well as at Alfreton, in places where it would not lie deep.¹⁹ We learn also that, in 1368, a dispute arose concerning the tithe of some coals at Swanwick. It appears that Sir Thomas had granted the canons a rent of 13s. 4d. out of Alfreton Manor for 40 years, on condition that, if the coal mines failed, or if Sir Thomas did not choose to work them, the rent should cease. The canons, however, knowing doubtless that coal-mining was a somewhat lucrative enterprise, were not content with such a small sum as 13s. 4d. per annum, and accordingly they demanded a tithe of all the coal got at Alfreton. The matter was referred to arbitration, when it was decided that the canons should accept, and that the Manor should pay, 13s. 4d. only, under a penalty of £20.²⁰

¹⁸ Vol. i., pp. 489, 490.

¹⁹ Coal-mining is probably of great antiquity in this country. I have myself picked up fragments of coal in the excavations of the Roman station of Templeborough, near Rotherham.

²⁰ Pegge, 130. An inspection of the chartulary itself would doubtless disclose much curious information on this matter.

Both the son and grandson of Sir Thomas Chaworth, both of whom bore the same name, were benefactors to the abbey, though not in the same degree. I here give a translation of the will of Sir Thomas, the grandson :—

“In the name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord 1347, I, Thomas de Chaworth, the elder, knight, make my testament as follows :—In the first place I give my soul to God and the Blessed Mary, and my body to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary of Beauchief, in the choir, before the altar, near the tomb of Sir Thomas, my grandfather. My will also is that my old palfrey walk before my body, in the name of its master, with its armorial trappings. And because the expenses of the day of my funeral, both with regard to my body and the distributions to be made to the poor, cannot, for a certainty, be ascertained, I ask and humbly beseech my executors to give me an honourable burial, out of the proceeds of my chattels, such as becomes my condition and my knighthood. I give to my son John 10 marks. I give to Johanna, my daughter, 100s. I give to my daughter Alice 100s. I give to Thomas, my son, of Marnham, 10 marks. I give to John, the son of Matilda Capsi, 100s.; and to Alice, his sister, 100s. Also I give to William Stevens, my chaplain, 40s. I give to Henry, the chaplain of Osberton, 20s. I give to Simon de Skeffington, Robert of Medeburne, and Robert Martin, of the same place, 20s. a piece. I give to John, the son of Idonea, of Medeburne, 20s. I give to John, the son of Emma le Parker, of Medeburne, one mark. Also I give to Richard Miri, my chamberlain, my best bed, with all its hangings, and one mark. I give to Richard Rounill, my second best bed, with all its ornaments, and 20s. Also I give to Adam Tony, of Medeburne, and to each of my servants at my several manors one mark each. I give to the several officers of my household, viz., my butler, gatekeeper, baker, cook, and huntsman, one mark each. Also I give to the eight chaplains²¹ to celebrate for my soul, and the souls

²¹ There was a chantry of eight priests attached to the abbey. See hereafter.

of parents and benefactors for the space of two years, four score marks, each of them taking five marks a year. Also I give to the convents of Grey Friars, Augustinian Canons, and Carmelites at Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby, to each convent half a mark. Also I give to William Allibon', of Medeburne, and all my pages and footmen, half a mark each. Also I will that the debts which are owing to the abbot and convent of Beauchief, under the will of my lord of Chaworth, that is to say, 40 silver pounds, be paid without gainsaying. Also I will that my debts be paid out of my own chattels, and if anything shall remain undisposed of, I will that the same be distributed to priests and poor men to pray for my soul. In order that my testament may be faithfully carried out, and that the will, which I have duly expressed in my lifetime, may be accomplished, I appoint, as my executors, the following:—Sir Thomas, my son and heir; Brother Robert de Radclive, abbot of Beauchief; Sir John de Lysens, William de Oston, Sir William de Halughton, my chaplain. Done at Alfreton, the day and year aforesaid.”²²

The will of Sir William Chaworth, son of the last-named Sir Thomas, contains some references to Beauchief. I insert so much of it as concerns the abbey.

“In the name of God, Amen. On the 16th day of December, A.D. 1398, I, William de Chaworth, knight, of sound mind, at Wyverton, make my testament as follows:—Firstly, I give my soul to God Almighty, to the Blessed Mary His Mother and All Saints, and my body to be buried in the Abbey of Beauchief, the best horse that I have [walking before my body] in the name of its master.²³ Also I will that the abbot and convent there do hold all the seignorial lands of my manor of Norton for the term of 21 years, including the preceding years during which the said abbot and convent have already held them.”²⁴

²² Original in *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Society).

²³ *Cum optimo animali, quod habeo, nomine principalis mei.*

²⁴ Another instance of the wealth of the abbey. As Sir William was living at Wiverton, he had probably entrusted the management of his estates to the abbey.


The will of Sir Thomas Chaworth, who was the son and heir of the last-named testator, contains no bequest to, or mention of, Beauchief. The Chaworths, probably, had begun to reside almost entirely in Nottinghamshire, where they had large estates, and would not see so much of the canons as when they were living at their Manor of Norton. Sir Thomas obtained in 14th of Henry VI. the King's license to make the park of Wiverton, and he was probably the builder of the princely mansion at that place, which was unhappily dismantled during the Great Rebellion. Alice, his mother, daughter and heiress of Sir John Calcoft, desired in her will to be buried at Beauchief. She gives her son an ouche of gold, set with pearls and diamonds, a bed of blue and its costers, with her arms, and a book called Placebo and Dirige.²⁵

²⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Society), ii., 220. The Chaworths' park, at Norton, is now the seat and property of Charles Cammell, Esq.



CHAPTER V.

No chronicle of the Abbey extant—List of Abbots—Visitation Registers—Resignation of Abbot Ivo—Laxity of discipline in the 15th century—Abbot Downham writes to Welbeck about the payment of certain contributions—Illegality of these contributions—Bull of Pope Nicholas V.—Great disorder at Beauchief—Canon Swift writes to Welbeck complaining of the misdemeanours of the Canons—The Abbot of Welbeck writes to the Commissary General imploring him to visit his “vineyard and church of Beauchief”—Visitation of Bishop Redmayne—Abbot Downham is accused of rebellion and “many other notorious crimes”—He is excommunicated and deposed—Swift is appointed in his room—The refractory canons excommunicated with Downham renounce their opinions.

 HE destruction of the chronicles of so many religious houses is much to be lamented. No chronicle kept by the canons of Beauchief is now, I fear, in existence, though there can be little doubt that such a book existed. That such was the case may almost be gathered from the fact that when the house was visited in 1478, the canons were able to give the exact date of the foundation of their abbey, and in 1494 we read of their being ordered to record the decrees of the provincial chapter in their books.¹ The chartulary and necrology alone appear to have been preserved, and perhaps the only reason for their having escaped the general holocaust was that they were, to a certain extent, evidences of title, which might prove useful to the new owners of the conventual lands. Though we cannot deeply regret the wholesale destruction of endless volumes of scholastic divinity, still in the general wreck which followed the dissolution of monasteries, so many fair transcripts of ancient poets and historians, and so many priceless pages of the illuminator's art were consigned to the flames by the reformers, that “posterity,” says Anthony á Wood, “must for ever curse their proceedings.” Owing to the imperfect state of the mate-

¹ See hereafter.

rials which I have been able to collect, the reader will have presented to him in this chapter as accurate a list of the abbots² as I have been able to compile, and afterwards a series of visitations and original letters of great interest.

List of Abbots.

1. WILLIAM (?).
2. JORDANUS, 1228.
3. GILBERT DE MALMSBURY, 1237.
4. JOHN, 1258.
5. STEPHEN (?).
6. REGINALD, 1273.
7. IVO, 1276.
8. ROGER DE FOULSTOWE, 1278.
9. JOSEPH, 1314 (?).
10. THOMAS DE DONCASTER (?).
11. ROBERT DE RADCLIFFE, 1350.
12. JOHN NORTON I., 1393.
13. JOHN DE DERLEYE, 1395.
14. ROBERT DE BUBNYLL, 1399.
15. WILLIAM DE FOLKINGHAM, 1423.
16. WILLIAM GRESLEY, 1433.
17. JOHN GIRDON, 1443.
18. JOHN DOWNHAM, 1458.
19. JOHN SWIFT I., 1472.
20. JOHN SWIFT II. (?)
21. THOMAS WEDUR, 1478.
22. JOHN NORTON II. (?)
23. CHRISTOPHER, 1519.
24. JOHN GREENWOOD, *alias* SHEFFIELD,
elected 1519, died 1536.

² Compiled partly from Pegge, whose careful examination of deeds of various ages enabled him to fix the dates of some of the abbots, partly from the Necrology, (*ante*) and partly from a paper in the *Reliquary*, by Mr. Kirke.

VISITATION I.³

"In the year of Grace 1278, the 4th week after the feast of St. Ambrose the Bishop, we, John, abbot of Newhouse, Vice-gerent of the Lord Abbot of Prémontré, taking with us our venerable brothers of Welbeck, of Stanley Park, and Newboth, visited the church of Beauchief, with care and attention, where we absolved the abbot Ivo from the care of the pastoral office which he held, in accordance with his own desire and gentle petition. Then we, having absolved him from his office, having solemnly invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, and having done all things which we should observe,⁴ the canons of the same church with one accord and equal vote duly elected Roger de Foulstowe, prior of the same house, for their father and pastor."

VISITATION II.

WITH LETTERS AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

This visitation, which concerns the deposition of abbot Downham, forms the most interesting of the known records of Beauchief. Luxury, wealth, and disorder were beginning to creep into the monasteries, and it was only to be expected that in an order whose rule was so strict as that of Prémontré, the bonds of discipline would not unfrequently be broken, and we may well understand that, although those bonds were oftentimes, as necessity demanded, relaxed, it would require the most assiduous care, on the part of the general chapter, to restrain the passions and worldly desires to which the canons were, at the time of Downham's deposition, becoming day by day more prone. The strict and simple rule of Norbert had been modified by many concessions. Fasting was not so strictly

³ This visitation is translated from a transcript, taken apparently from an old register of the order, given by Mr. Kirke in the *Reliquary* (Ap. 1867). I have not been able to discover the register, either in the British Museum or Bodleian Libraries. It is unfortunate that Mr. Kirke should have given no references.

⁴ Mr. Kirke's transcript is quite incorrect. The sentence, I have no doubt, should read *quæ in ecclesiis abbatum canonici debent observare*.

enjoined. Flesh meat was tolerated; even extravagantly indulged in. Intercourse with the world was more freely permitted, not always without scandal.⁵ The order had already passed the noon-tide of its prosperity,⁶ but it reposed securely amid the accumulations of more than three centuries of wealthy penitence. The house of Beauchief, amply endowed by its founder, had become the possessor of thousands of fair acres,⁷ with dependencies and interests in many towns for more than twenty miles round.

The first mention we have of abbot Downham, under whose rule the house was in very great disorder, is in a letter which he wrote to Welbeck, asking the father abbot whether he should pay some contributions, which it appears were then exacted from the different monasteries of the Order. I give the letter as it stands in Peck's MSS.⁸

[7th DECEMBER, 1458.]

"John, abbot of Beauchief, to the foresaid abbot of Welbeck, requesting his directions how to answer the foresaid abbot of Happ as to certain tallies required by him, *tam pro annis retroactis, quam pro presenti*.

"Honowrs and worschippes with all dew filiall recommendations be unto your holy and honorabull fadyrhode, besechyng yow to pardonne me att⁹ I am so longe frome yowre worthy presence, whilk is sore agaynes my wyll.

"Pleas yow to witte owre vysitur hathe wryten at he wyll visyte

⁵ Taiéc I., 138.

⁶ Very few gifts of land were made after the middle of the 14th century, partly through the stringency of the Mortmain Acts, and partly through the decline of religious fervour.

⁷ I may mention the villages of Dore, Greenhill, Handley (near Staveley), and Watchill, which belonged to the monastery. In 45 Eliz., Gervase Strelley, then owner of Beauchief, suffered a recovery of 2320 acres of land, "parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Beauchieffe." Deed *penes* Rev. H. H. Pearson. The recovery only included the home estate, and the grange of Killamarsh.

⁸ Add. MSS. 4934, fol. 85. ⁹ That.

hus in haste, and in hys wrytenge charges hus, in vertue of holy obediunce, that we schall make redy *tallias* or contribuciones to oure place pertenyng, as wel of yerys past as of this present; whilk, as I conceyve, is expresle agaynes owre constytucyones, withoute a generall chapyter had. And, as am I credubly infourmede, odyr places where he hath bene hath wythsayde¹⁰ hym therein.

"Wherefore I beseke your sayde fadyrhode, how ye thynk I schulde be demende¹¹ herein of youre sage and sadde counsell, and in whatt wyse yee be demende youreselfe therein; for in lyke wyse wold I demene me, and it be youre commaundement. In whilk and all odyr¹² pertenyng to our ordure, I schall be obedyente as ryht and conschyaunce requyreth, with grace of Almyghty God, whome I beseke yowe to preserve in honowres to his lovynge¹³ longe to endure. Wryten at Bewchef the vij day of December,

*"per vestre sanctitatis objectum
Johannem Abbatem de Bewcheffe.*

*"Eximie discretionis viro et patri
benignissimo domino Abbati de Welbeck."*)

It would appear from this letter that the Commissary General, or Visitor, as he is here called, was exacting contributions from the various houses of the order. Notwithstanding that an Act had been passed in A.D. 1307 restraining the exactions which the heads of foreign monasteries were accustomed to levy on their English dependencies, we may gather from what happened at Beauchief that this illegal course was still pursued, and, although the charge against Downham afterwards assumed a somewhat different shape, we may at once perceive that his chief sin lay in refusing obedience to the General Chapter. Yet in the letter I have just quoted we may see that, though he expresses doubts as to the legality of the contributions required, he is willing to be guided in all things by his superior "as right and conscience" required him.

¹⁰ Withstood, resisted.

¹¹ Behaved.

¹² Other [things].

¹³ Praises.

Twenty years before the date of Downham's letter, Pope Eugene IV. had addressed a letter to the abbot of Prémontré, to the effect that he (the Pope) regretted to hear of the complaints, which came from several countries, of the depraved morals of "the superiors, canons, lay-brothers, and others who were attached to the order."¹⁴

A few years later (1451) the general chapter held at St. Foillan had decreed, under penalty of excommunication and prison, that no one should possess property, either real or personal, and that whoever possessed any should give it to the superiors, to be put into the common fund; that no one should have either money or private income; that no one should possess anything of his own, neither purse nor scrip, &c. Every abbot who permitted this state of things was to be deposed. And, three years afterwards, Jean Aguet, abbot of Prémontré, obtained from Pope Nicholas V. a bull, from which I give the following extract: "We have been informed that, contrary to the wholesome traditions of your order, many persons amongst you, induced by the spirit of evil, and trampling under foot the proper meekness of their condition, are living an immoral and dissolute life, and, to add to their wickedness, do resist the visitors sent to them by the General Abbot and the General Chapter, as well as their father abbots, whose privilege it hath ever been to visit, correct and reform them; and, not content with despising their advice and reform, they sometimes have recourse to the secular power to maintain them in their disorder, resist their visitors by force of arms, deliver the goods of the order to laymen who support them, and produce, every day, other scandals, to the great detriment of discipline, the dishonour of God, and the scandal of the people."¹⁵

About the year 1461 the house was divided against itself. Downham, the abbot, and Skipton, the prior, along with six of the canons, were evidently opposed to the encroachments of foreign jurisdiction, and perhaps, if the truth were known, were disposed to live a much more luxurious life than the rules permitted. Another faction of the

¹⁴ Taiée, I., 131.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 139.

house, headed by John Swift, who afterwards was made abbot, was in favour of that passive obedience which the superiors of all religious orders so strongly insisted upon. The following letter which Swift wrote to John Green, the father abbot, though written in the abject manner in which the inferior ranks of monks were accustomed to address their superiors, bears on the face of it signs that Swift was entertaining designs on the abbacy, and that he and the father abbot were colleaguely together to bring about the deposition of Downham. The letter itself is a most interesting specimen of the language of the period, and proves Swift to have been a man of considerable learning, for, not only is he apt at quoting the maxims of the common law, but he appears to have had some skill (no very common accomplishment) in the art of Latin verse-making.¹⁶

[1st FEBRUARY, 1461-2.]

"Unto myn excellent and myghty fadyr and maister, father abbot of Welbek.

"Most honorable, myghty, and ryght graciouse fadyr.

"Unto your excellent, worthie, ryght hye, and reverent dignite : I your lowe suppliaunte, chanon and beydman (thof I be full sympull and insufficiaunte), with all manner of lowlyness and diew commendacyon me moste beniguelie obeyinge, ryght tenderlye and lowly recomende (replyinge ryght hartlye and devoutlie unto your most graciouse remembraunce and worthy dyscretion) the grete incessant cry of your most pore prysoner, your house at Beawcheff, callynge unto you and sayinge in these wordes and forme foloyng, with lowde voyce and myghtye (noght by himselfe, but by me, right sympull and unworthy, his procurator for hym, at this tyme caused and required be greate opportunitye, verre pietye and consciaunce).

"Meke and full gracyouse fadyr, in the statuse and balands¹⁷ of whose myghty power, pure consciaunce, and moste excellent discre-

¹⁶ This letter is in Pegge's Appendix, but so shockingly miscopied that it was necessary to re-copy every word of it.—Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 4934, fol. 109.

¹⁷ Balance.

cyon, the succor, remedye, and redresse of my detestable schame, reproove, poverte, and indigence, hynggs¹⁸ and pondresse, *viriliter amputa opprobrium meum, quod supplicatus sum*, &c., cutte ye all aboute, and remove fro me all my grete reproove, schame, and derision, in which I am known and had suspect. For why? Your doinse and juggements are full right, wise, and jocund.

"And behold, fadyr, I hafe abyden and desyred your succor and commaundments, therefore in your equite and ryghtewessness heyveste¹⁹ me up and quikken me, castyn downe and inexterminablye lying in the dungyon of inordynate synne, enormyoute [? enormity] myserewles²⁰ and wretchednes, and in the pryson of unrecoverable subversyon, ruyne, destruction, importable²¹ pauverte, and indigence, and under the unpituouse, presumptuouse, and full unjantell and cruell jaylors of all manner of extortions, usurpations, collusions, ryotes, and devastations, from your saide prisoner, unto my moste utter confusion.

"And also, forsoth, myghtye syr, your sayde prisoner (and I his sympull procurator for hym) bene ryght vyrelye exhorted, desyred, and recomforted be [by] my profest bredyrs, vicar of Norton, John Stiward, Stephen Power, and John Ugthybrig, which have cried on me a grete whyle for to call your myghty, right frutefull, and expedient counsell, succor, and helpe for your sayde prysoner's house; and also be all the notable membres and mynistres of the kyrk in theise partiese, and be ryght many oder notable and worthie secler [secular] personnes, heryng the grete sound of the vulgarly fame, and havyng knowleg, compassion, and pietie [pity] of the pouverte, grete nakednes, and indigence, with all the circumstance of confusion of your saide prisoner's house stirryng me, be theise words in metre:—

"*Clama, ne cesses; veniunt post semina messes;
Post lacrymas risus; post hanc hyemem paradisus.*"²²

¹⁸ Hangs.¹⁹ Hoist.²⁰ Misrules.²¹ Intolerable.²² "Cry without ceasing, after seed time comes the harvest; after tears laughter, after this storm a paradise." I have no doubt these hexameters, which,

"And also, moste of all for to drede, lest I be sene opunly to renne into the sentence gyven be the commyn law, thus—*Consentientes et agentes pari pena puniuntur*.²³ Frome which sentence, save your excellent pleasance, Ihesu kepe bothe yowe and me; and that greatlye causes me to be feard²⁴ of my taciturnitie.

"And all this cuntreth²⁵ *bene expectavit*, supposynge, lokinge after, and harkening continually of your moste gracyouse and myghty remedy, succor, and redresse of your saide frendeles prisoner's house, *ut ubi habundavit peccatum et ordinis subversio, ibi et maturius, per vestrum subsidium fructuosum, superhabundarent et gratia religionisque constructio*.²⁶

"Wherefore, myghty and full reverent fadyr, possesse ye, for this gracyouse dede, a hee seate in Heaven, for now may ye. And bot if²⁷ ye do itte son, it will be more noiceouse to brynge aboute securlye. And then, be negligence of your labor, visitacyon, and comforth, your seeke prisoner is lyke to be uncurable and perysched verelye. *Et revera nimirum, quia, ut asseritur, in maximis necessariis mora trahit periculum*.²⁸ Bott then²⁹ thoro the meede of your right vigilant and expedient labor of which things beforsayde, your most

it will be observed, are intended to be rythmical, are Swift's own composition. He appears to have borrowed the idea partly from Isaiah, *Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam*; and partly from the Psalmist: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him" (126, 6.)

²³ "Accessories shall receive the same punishment as the principal malefactors."

²⁴ Afraid.

²⁵ Country.

²⁶ "That where sin and disorder have abounded, there, in due season, by your most timely help, grace and renewed godliness might abound still more."

²⁷ Unless.

²⁸ "And no wonder indeed, for, as they say, in matters of great moment, delays are dangerous."

²⁹ In Pegge's copy of this letter "then" is "ther," and "lappyde" is "happyle." He has, however, mistranscribed the MS., for there the words are very clear. I cannot suppose these alterations to be emendations, for his copy is so very erroneous, that I have found it necessary to have the letter re-transcribed. "Ther," however, meaning "grant," makes the best sense. "Grant that through the means, &c., your fathership be happily in the glorious heaven."

myghty and honorable faderschipp and excellent dignite be lappyde³⁰ in the gloriouse halfynge of the heie Trinite. And, ryght wurthy, be ye well remembered of the artykels of our last visitacyon, whiche ye scheude me in your chamber, wryten unto you be the visitor, and take gude counsell of thaim. For ther is nothing amendyd of thaim, as our abbot was sworne unto the sayde visitor, wherthrough hee standys in a perjury. And Jhesu preserve you from all noiceaunce³¹ and adversitie.

"From your awne full obedyent and benynge chaplayn att all times,

"I. S. CHANON of Beawcheffe."

At the end of the letter is a note:—*Johannes Swyft, ut opinor, proximus abbas*; written doubtless by the Abbot of Welbeck, for the guidance of the Commissary General.

The Abbot of Welbeck, upon receiving Swift's letter, wrote as follows to the Commissary General:—

[NO DATE.]

"To the Reverend Father in Christ, Richard, by the grace of God Abbot of the Monastery of the Valley of Magdalen of Shap, and Commissary General in all parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, of the most Reverend Father in Christ, Symon, Lord Abbot of Prémontré, John, by his permission humble Abbot of Welbek, wisheth health and strength to correct error, and to uphold what hath been corrected peaceably in the Lord.³²

"Seeing that the care and supervision of all our order, in the parts and circuits aforesaid, belongs to your pre-eminence by special

³⁰ To be *lappid* is to be *protected, ensconced, enveloped*. In Wickliff's translation of St. Matthew, c. 27, "Joseph *lappide* it in a clene sandel." And later, in Dryden's Juvenal,

"Her garment spreads and *laps* him in the fold."—Sat. 6.

³¹ Harm.

³² *Correcta in Domino confovere*. The title of this letter in the register is:—*Johannis Grene, abbatis de Welbek (Patris Abbatis de Bello Capite), Ricardo Redman Abbati de Heppa et D. Symonis Abbatis Premonstratensis Commissario Generali, ut ad cœnobium de Bello Capite descenderet, et ibidem visitaret, littera supplicis, sine datis*. (Regist. Prem. fol. 103 a. Peck's mss. Brit. Mus. Add. mss. 4934, fol. 110 a.)

prerogative, we, in matters which exceed our power, whenever our duty bids us, run to you our refuge, as we would flee to our mother's bosom, to seek consolation and help.

"We would therefore have your holiness understand that, as we have lately been informed by trustworthy accounts, and by the constant cry of good and honourable men, your vineyard and church of Beauchief, which is our own daughter, through the great neglect and carelessness of the husbandmen and labourers therein, hath lain barren for many years, and so remaineth yet, and lieth idle, good for nought, and, if I may say so, altogether useless and unfruitful.

"Whence it hath been commonly reported amongst us that unless, either by you or by those whom it most concerns, a place be found for other husbandmen and labourers who will render fruit to their Lord more abundantly in its due season, the church will be altogether destroyed, and in a short time (though God forbid it!) entirely consumed, to the great dishonour and no little scandal of our religion, making us a common laughing-stock amongst the people.

"Wherefore, we most earnestly pray and beseech your kind fatherhood and lordship that ye will deign to come down to these parts, as soon as ye conveniently may, in order to visit this vineyard, with the speed which belongs to affection, and that your fatherhood will fully exercise the authority committed to you, as the occasion may require.

"May your reverend fatherhood long live, through Christ our Saviour, to watch over your flock.

Vester in omnibus } *in Domino."*
ad vota }

Richard Redmayne, Commissary General of the order, and afterwards successively Bishop of St. Asaph, Exeter, and Ely, appears to have lost no time in coming down to Beauchief. He was evidently a man of great ability and energy, as well as a most haughty priest. It will be seen that the charges against Downham are anything but specific; the real accusations against him are concealed beneath clouds of words and flourishes of rhetoric. But I will let the proceedings speak for themselves.

“1. In the year of our Lord 1461, on the last day of February, we Richard, by Divine permission humble abbot of Magdalen of Shap, &c., Commissary General in all parts of England, &c., of the most reverend Simon, Lord Abbot of Prémontré, taking with us our venerable brothers, the abbot of Welbek, and the prior of St. Agatha, having been specially requested by the mandate of our most excellent King, and by the prayers of other lords, dignitaries, and honourable men, came down to the abbey of Beauchief, which hath been loudly and oftentimes defamed for notorious crimes, where, proceeding to make enquiry in form of law, as well concerning its head as its members, and having administered the most inviolate oaths to all and singular the professed brethren of the said monastery, that they might tell us the whole truth concerning those things which should needs be reformed and amended,

“2. we found our brother John Downham, abbot of Beauchief, proved guilty and convicted of solemn perjuries, of wasting the convent's goods, of incontinence, rebellion, and many other notorious crimes, as appears both by the statements of the brethren, and by the ample information and proof we have received, not from evil-speaking and slanderous tongues, but from honourable men of good report.

“3. Nay, when he was proved guilty, he rebelliously shunned the discipline of our order, and, led by the evil spirit, rose in insurrection with armed men and defensive arms, with swords and with staves, and departed the monastery, despising altogether the legal process of our order, and associating with him seven canons who joined in his apostacy.

“4. Wherefore we, in form of law, cited the said John Downham, with the canons, his abettors, to appear before us in the chapter house of this monastery, to defend himself, and to show cause or causes (if any there were) why he should not be deprived of his office and benefice, and be formally excommunicated with the canons, his abettors.

"5. But they, like the sons of perdition,³³ unmindful of their salvation, and despising the obedience they owed, fled rebelliously away. And when wickedness increaseth, the punishment must needs be increased also.

"6. Wherefore we, the aforesaid abbots, judges of our order, having the fear of God before our eyes, and remembering the great ruin of the place, which we with our eyes have seen, the personal incontinence, the wasting of goods, the concealment of the guilty, the disfiguration of things divine, and (what is more damnable than all) the continued perseverance of these men in their wickedness, inclining neither to the right hand or the left, nor fearing them who can slay the body,³⁴ but only that Great Judge who can send souls into the hell of fire,

"7. by the authority of our said lord of Prémontré,³⁵ deposed the said John Downham, abbot of Beauchief, by reason of his misdemeanours and rebellion, and ordered him to be deprived of his prelacy in the words following :—

"8. 'In the name of God, Amen. We, Richard, abbot of Shap, and true commissary of the lord abbot of Prémontré, by the authority of the said lord abbot, wherewith we are fully invested, do depose, absolve, and exonerate thee, John Downham, abbot of this monastery of Beauchief, for thine open rebellion, and for other notorious crimes committed by thee, and approved by the canons, thy fellows; and we take away from thee the pastoral charge of this house, and all the dignity, possession, and right whatsoever in the prelacy thou hast held and had, and we declare thee deposed, absolved, and exonerated in these words.'

"9. And furthermore, we declared that the sentence of greater excommunication should be fulminated against the said John Down-

³³ *Tanquam filii proditiōis. Quare* if not *perditionis*, as I have rendered it.

³⁴ "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell."—*Mat. x.*, 20.

³⁵ It may here be mentioned that Simon de la Terrière, abbot of Prémontré, at whose mandate these thunders and lightnings went forth, only escaped being deposed himself by taking a hint from Pope Paul II. to retire.—*Taiée i.*, 143.

ham, late abbot of Beauchief, and against Wm. Brotherton, Robert Skyppton, Robert Baxby, John Powmffrett, and John Ascheton, accomplices in his crime, and we declare that they are, and have been excommunicated in the words following :—

“10. In the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as thou, John, late abbot of Beauchief, and the said William, Robert, Robert, John, and John, thine accomplices, have been lawfully summoned, and, being long expected, have in nowise appeared, we Richard, abbot of Shap, and true commissary of the lord of Prémontré, in the plenitude of our power, do pronounce you rebellious, and in punishment of your rebellion, by the authority of the said lord of Prémontré, do excommunicate you, anathematise you, and exclude you from the pale of holy mother church; and not only you, but also your agents, abettors, and accomplices, and all who have in anywise supported you in your wickedness, and we declare that ye are and have been excommunicated in these words.’

“11. When this was ended we proceeded to the election of a new abbot, first invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, as our custom is, and declaring that if any were present who had been suspended, excommunicated, or placed under an interdict, they must leave the chapter house, for that we would not proceed if any such were present. And we publicly admonished every man, who might have any impediment to allege why we should not proceed to appoint a new abbot, to approach and declare it.

“12. There being no impediment alleged, and a proper election being impossible, on account of the absence and apostacy of certain canons of this house, who had no voice in the election, because they were proved guilty of notorious crimes, our venerable brother the abbot of Welbeck (to whom in the said monastery of Beauchief the right of election belongs by apostolic authority, and on whom the care of electing a new abbot devolves when schism is rife), ordained, instituted, appointed, and confirmed Sir John Swyft, a man wise, prudent, and discreet, both in matters spiritual and temporal, as the father and pastor of the said church of Beauchief, in the words following :—

"13. In the name of God, Amen. On the last day of February, A.D. 1461, the abbacy of Beauchief being vacant, through the deposition of brother John Downham, late abbot thereof, we, John, abbot of Welbeck, and father abbot of the church of Beauchief, (which is our spiritual daughter), being desirous to provide a fitting pastor, that she might not any longer inconveniently endure her widowhood (by the advice and assent of our reverend father the abbot of Shap, Commissary General of our lord of Prémontré, and also of the lawful and elder brethren of the said church, a canonical election being impossible, on account of the deserters who rebelliously avoided the jurisdiction of our order), do, by the authority of our lord the Pope, wherewith in this behalf we are fully invested, constitute, appoint, and ordain thee, John Swyfte, professed canon of this monastery of Beauchief, as the father and pastor thereof, and do approve and confirm thy appointment by these words.'

"14. And so, singing *Te Deum laudamus*, they brought him to the church, and we gave him corporal possession of the same by delivering the bells into his hands, and, according to our custom, installed him. Then going back to the chapter house, the brethren of the house who were present offered manual obedience³⁶ to him.

"15. All and singular the premisses, to all whom it doth or shall concern, we do make known by these presents. In witness, &c., we have caused as well our seals, as the common seal of this church of Beauchief to be affixed. Given in the year, month, day, and place aforesaid."³⁷

In spite of these fulminations and terrors, Downham appealed against the decision of the commissary general, praying to be reinstated in the abbacy. Accordingly, on the 13th May, 1462, or rather more than a year after the deposition, a court of appeal met at Nottingham. It consisted of the commissary general, John

³⁶ *Manualem fecerunt obedientiam*. By kissing the new abbot's ring.

³⁷ The time-honoured custom, yet too prevalent amongst lawyers, of using ten words where one would suffice, derives, I need hardly say, its origin from ecclesiastical *formulae* such as the foregoing.

Green, abbot of Welbeck, the abbots of Barlings, Newhouse, and Dale, and the prior of Easby (St. Agatha). The words of the register are *ad controversium terminandum*, as though the matter had been much disputed. The conclave confirmed the deposition of Downham, and approved the election of Swift. A few days later (29th May) Downham's accomplices renounced their opinions. I give a translation of the original document.

[29th MAY, 1462.]

“Renunciation made by Robert Sipton, Robert Baxby, John Corbryg, William Brotherton, John Powmffret, and John Aston, of the opinions and articles which John Downham, late abbot of Beauchief, and his accomplices held against the aforesaid Sir Richard Redman Commissary General, John Grene, abbot of Welbeck, and John Swyft, abbot of Beauchief.

“1. In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all men by this public instrument, that in the year 1472 after the Incarnation of our Lord (according to the computation of the English Church), in the 4th year of the Pontificate of our Most Holy Father in Christ and Lord Pope Pius II., and on the 19th of May, in the monastery of the Blessed Mary and St. James the Apostle, situate at Welbeck, by letters of attorney signed in the presence of my notary public and the witnesses whose names are written thereunder, our religious brother, Robert Sipton, canon of Beauchief, led neither by fear or by force, but freely, voluntarily, and of his own accord, renounced and revoked all the opinions and articles which John Downham, late abbot of Beauchief, held and maintained against the reverend fathers Sir Richard Redmayn, abbot of Hepp, Sir John Grene, abbot of Welbeck, and Sir John Swyfte, abbot of Beauchief.

“2. And the same Robert made this renunciation without any exception, right, allegation, and defence, whereby he might contravene the premisses.³⁸

³⁸ Premisses (*premissa*) is here used in its proper sense.

"3. And I, the same Robert, led neither by fear or violence, do declare that if anything either by me, or in my name, shall be done or attempted against the premisses or any of them, I shall hereafter be incapacitated from voting in any election, or from obtaining any ecclesiastical benefice.

"4. Robert Baxby, John Corbryg, William Brotherton, John Powmfrett, and John Aston made the like renunciation."

The seven apostate canons returned to Beauchief, but Downham never came there again. He appears to have retired to Wymeswold, in Leicestershire, a dependent church of the abbey. Though the obituary does not commemorate him, his sentence of excommunication was taken off, for in a window of Wymeswold church was an inscription which bade the faithful "pray for the soul of John Downham, abbot of Beauchiffe."³⁹

Swift held the abbacy till 1478, the year of his translation to Newhouse. I give the visitations which intervene between his election to Beauchief and his removal to Newhouse.

³⁹ Burton's Leicestershire, 310.




CHAPTER VI.

Visitations continued—Good account of the monastery—Claustral silence—Details of ritual corrected—Building of the stalls—Rebellion of two canons—Tonsures, how regulated—"Wickedness of the times"—Chantry of eight priests—Drunkenness in the house—Apostacy amongst the canons—Disorders at Newhouse—The abbot of Newhouse resigns, and is succeeded by the abbot of Beauchief—Visitation of Newhouse—Decree of Swift's election to Newhouse—Manner of electing abbots—High praise bestowed on Swift—Abbot of Newhouse pensioned—Prior of Hornby made abbot of Beauchief—Great dissatisfaction of the canons thereat, who are threatened with the greater excommunication—Questions put by the Visitor, and answers thereto—Bread and water enjoined for non-observance of silence—The abbot ordered to find instruction for his brethren in theological science—Canons not to have more than 21s. each—Great beauty of the abbey—Criminal excesses of Wolset, the chanter—Psalms not properly sung—Misconduct of the vicar of Wymeswold—Heavy taxation of the monastery.

VISITATION III.

" I.

N the year of our Lord 1472, on the 5th day of May, we, Richard, by Divine permission Abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Mary Magdalene of Hepp, of the order of Prémontré, in the diocese of Carlisle, duly appointed Plenipotentiary Commissary General in all parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, of the Most Reverend Father in Christ Hubert, by the grace of God and the Holy Apostolic See Abbot of Prémontré, .

" 2. visited the Monastery of Beauchief of our said order, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, as well touching its spiritual and temporal condition as its abbot and brethren,

" 3. where we found the abbot and brethren joined, as it were, together in the bond of charity, love, and peace, and

" 4. the ministration of divine service committed to their charge devoutly performed, and

" 5. by the anxious care of the abbot the temporal estate of the house ameliorated and its debts diminished.

"6. With regard to buildings and repairs, the state of the abbey is excellent.

"7. There are several smaller observances which, under the penalty ordained by the statute, we ordered to be more strictly kept, and firstly and chiefly as to the places where silence should be maintained.¹

"8. At Eastertide they should sing 'Alleluia' only at the end of the versicles, and not in middle² of them, with the anthem *Regina cæli lætare*; and they should do the like at all vespers of the Blessed Virgin at the same season.

"9. We commanded, also, that the tonsures of the canons should be lessened, and that the lay-brethren should not use the tonsure at all.

"10. Having assembled together all the brethren of this monastery in the chapter house, we absolved them from all sentences of the law and of our order, and by these presents do declare them to be absolved.

"11. We have discovered nothing else which needs correction, or which deserves to be reported to the general chapter.

"12. In our last visitation the said abbey owed £40. 13s., now it only owes £10. The house is sufficiently provided with wheat and other necessities."

¹ "The places where silence should be maintained" were the church, cloister, refectory, and dormitory. Silence, considered to be so conducive to celestial contemplation, was strictly enjoined by the rules of the Premonstratensians, and conversation, when necessary, had to be carried on by means of signs, a knowledge of which took some little time to acquire. The rule was considered to be directly sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures themselves, in such passages as the following:—"I said I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue. I will keep my mouth as it were with a bridle while the ungodly is in my sight." (*Psalms* xxxix., 1.) "I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." (*Math.* xi., 36.) "The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity; so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell." (*James* iii., 6.)

² In a modern Easter hymn "Alleluia" comes in the *middle* of a couplet:—

"Christ the Lord is risen to-day, *Alleluia!*
Our triumphant holiday. *Alleluia!*"

VISITATION IV.

“In the year of our Lord 1472, on the 18th day of July, we Richard, etc., visited the monastery of Beauchief of our said order, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where, proceeding to make inquiry, as we are bound by our office, we found the abbot a venerable and wise man, careful in the observance of discipline, and both skilful and prudent. We found he had done so much in the building of the stalls and other erections, that he deserves to be called not merely a restorer, but even a founder. His brethren are joined together in the bond of charity, love, and peace.

“Brothers Robert Bowland and John Norton having been summoned before us, but not having appeared, we pronounced rebellious, and, in punishment of their rebellion, we suspended them, and declared them suspended. And we commanded the abbot of the said monastery to summon the said brothers, or cause them to be summoned, to appear before us in the monastery of Barlings, on the last day of July next, under penalty of contempt, to give an account of themselves, and to undergo whatever punishment justice shall require.

“Moreover we ordered the tonsures of the brethren to be reformed, so that there may be, at the least, three fingers breadth of hair above the ears, according to the institutes of our order.

“The said monastery owed at the election of the aforesaid abbot £100, but now it owes only £20. Through the excellent management of the abbot, it has good store of all other necessities. Given, etc.”

“*Names of Canons in the Visitation made A.D. 1458. (? 1472.)*

MONASTERY OF BEWCHEFE.

“THOMAS CHEWORTHE is the founder of the said monastery. The abbot of Welbek is the father abbot. They have three churches. The canons are perpetual vicars. The said monastery

was founded in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr, A.D. 1183, on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle.

“Dom. JOHN SWYFFT, abbot.

Brother ROBERT SKYPTON, circator.

„ JOHN HASTON.

„ ROBERT WELLSETT, chanter.

„ THOMAS PAYTON, cellarer.

„ WILLIAM SWENDEN, sacristan.

„ JOHN CRUKE.

„ STEPHEN POWER, vicar of Wymundewold.

„ WILLIAM BRODYRTON, vicar of Alfyrton.

„ ROBERT BOWLAND, } outside the monastery.”

„ JOHN NORTON, }

VISITATION V.

“1. In the year of our Lord, 1472, and the 20th day of October, we, father William, by Divine permission, abbot of the monastery of Welbeck, of the order of Prémontré, in the diocese of York, taking with us our venerable father . . . by the grace of God, abbot of Dale, visited with all diligence and care our daughter, the abbey of Beauchief, lately widowed of her abbot, wherein, after making due inquiry, as our custom is,

“2. we found that the greatest peace and mutual concord prevailed amongst the brethren, who were living together in the bonds of charity ;

“3. that the temporal condition of the house, considering the wickedness of the times,³ was exceedingly well ordered by the thoughtful management of the late abbot ;

“4. and that divine service and the rules of regular discipline were zealously observed, even more carefully than was their wont.

“5. And, moreover, as to the manner and form of the new election there held, according to the privileges and statutes of our order,

³ “The wickedness of the times” refers doubtless to the unsettled state of the country produced by the wars of the Roses, from which the monasteries would not fail to suffer.

we, having taken the vote of every member of the said abbey, and having found no informality in that matter, declared the election itself to have been duly and canonically celebrated, ratified and approved the same by our authority, and confirmed it in the hearing of those present.

"6. Then we found that there was in the said abbey a certain chantry of eight priests, which was not kept up to the full complement as it ought to be ;

"7. and that the keys of the church and the cloister are not kept in proper places, nor are the church and cloister locked up at proper hours.⁴

"8. Also, that in the evening, after complines,⁵ the brethren go outside the cloister, stay up so long, and get so much to drink⁶ that at midnight, when matins should be said, they cannot keep awake.

"9. Also, that the brethren go outside the monastery, not together (as, according to the statutes, they should), but one goes one way and another goes another way, every man as he pleases.⁷

⁴ *Clavesque religionis et claustrum temporibus et locis opportunis non custoditas.* The writer of this sentence, in trying to be terse, has made himself rather obscure. *Religio* probably here means the church, but, if it does, it is an extremely rare sense of the word. It appears, however, to have been used by Cicero in the sense of a sacred place or thing. Cf: *prædo religionum* (*Cicero in Verrem*, 2, 4, 44). *Clastrum* should certainly be *claustrum*; nevertheless the sentence appears to have reference to the non-observance of silence, so often complained of.

⁵ "Complines," the last of the seven services in the 24 hours, were said about seven o'clock.

⁶ This statement, coming as it does from the pen of the abbot of Welbeck himself, is not so likely to be coloured as it is probable some of the statements of Henry VIII.'s Commissioners are. Here is a similar passage taken from MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. IV., fol. 161 :—"Monckes drynk an bowll after collacyon till ten or xii. of the clock, and cum to mattens as dronck as myss, and sume at cards, sume at dyss [dice], and at tabulles, sume cum to mattens begenyng at the nydes [midst], and sume when yt is allmost done, and wold not cum ther so only for boddly punysment, nothyng for Godes sayck." In *Harl. MS.*, 913, fol. 58, is a parody on the mass, beginning *Intrabo ad altare Bacchi* :—"I will go unto the altar of Bacchus, to the wine which maketh glad the heart of man. I believe in Bacchus, God Almighty, and in the wine of rosy hue," &c. Matins, the first service of the day, were said about two o'clock in the morning, because Christ was supposed to have risen from the dead at that hour.

⁷ The statutes ordered them to walk together in twos. The rules made by the General chapter in 1618 were even more stringent. Under the title "Chastity" we

"10. We found nothing else in the abbey which needed our correction, or which deserved to be reported to the general chapter.

"11. Yet we straitly charged the newly-elected abbot, by virtue of holy obedience, and under the penalty of the greater excommunication,⁸ that he would as soon as he conveniently might, use his best endeavours to amend all these matters.

"12. Given at Beauchief aforesaid, under the seal of our office, &c.

"13. The abbey owed, in this our visitation, £60. The barns did not contain altogether more than one week's provision in them."

VISITATION VI.

"1. In the year of our Lord, 1475, on the day of St. Vitalis,⁹ we, William, by the permission of God, abbot of the monastery of Webek (*sic*), in the diocese of York, visited our daughter,¹⁰ the abbey of *Bellum Caput* or Bewchefe, by our fatherly authority, as well touching its head as its members, where making strict enquiry,

"2. we found the regularity of its discipline beyond all praise.

"3. And that the outward condition of the place, as, for example, in the repairs of its buildings, and the necessary supplies of wheat, was everything which could be desired, by reason of the care of its venerable shepherd.

"4. And we found the father of the said abbey, and his convent of religious men, living together in the bond of unity and peace; and, as in brotherly affection we found them, so we bade them farewell."¹¹

read, "The canons, when they go out of the monastery to walk, shall not enter into towns, villages, or houses, but shall take their recreations or exercises in a solitary place, and they shall never go so far away that the Superior cannot see them at a glance; going out two and two they shall return in the same manner." (Taïée ii., 226.)

⁸ "Greater excommunication" was the highest ecclesiastical censure which could be pronounced by a spiritual judge.

⁹ April 28.

¹⁰ *Ecclesiam nostram filialem.*

¹¹ *Et sicut nos invenimus, sic solidatos dimissimus.* This visitation is not easily put into an English dress, on account of the florid exuberance of its metaphors.

"5. We found nothing else which needed our correction, or which should be reported to the general chapter.

"6. But the said abbey owed, on this our visitation, only . . .

"7. There is owing to the said monastery for a whole year only . . . There is an abundant supply of all kinds of grain."

VISITATION VII.

"These are the names of all the Regular Canons [of the order of Prémontré], as they were taken in the visitation of Richard, Bishop of St. Asaph and Abbot of Shap, who began his visitation [in the monastery of] Dureforde, the 6th day of June, 1475.¹²

"In the Monastery of Beauchief.

"Dom. JOHN SWYFT, abbot.

Brother ROBERT SKYPTON, sub-prior.

ROBERT HARTLEY.

JOHN ASTON, circator.¹³

ROBERT WELLSETT, sub-cellarer.

WILLIAM STONDON.

THOMAS PETON, deacon.

JOHN CROKYS, accolite.

WILLIAM CASSALL, *alias* WYDDOSON, formerly
canon of Dale.

JOHN NORTON, apostate.

ROBERT BOWLAND, apostate.

ROBERT BAXBY, apostate.

STEPHEN POWER, vicar.

WILLIAM KYCHYN, vicar.

WILLIAM BROTHERTON, vicar."

¹² The ms. is a good deal rubbed, and a few words cannot be read in consequence. Probable conjectures are put in brackets. []

¹³ The circator's proper function was to see that the religious discipline was well observed, to look after those who were at work, and to act in the absence of prior and supprior.

VISITATION VIII.

"Progress of the visitation of the Reverend Father Richard, Bishop of St. Asaph, who, riding from his diocese of St. Asaph, began his visitation in the monastery of Hales Owen, by the authority of the reverend father Hubert,¹⁴ Lord Abbot [of Prémontré], on the 20th May, 1478, and in the sixth year of the consecration of the said reverend father, and, going through all the cicaries¹⁵ and parts within the kingdom of England and Wales, intended to make his visitation effectual.

MAY.

"On the 25th, staid all night at Chesterfield, at the expense of the abbot of Beuchefe, and arrived at Beuchefe on the 26th, at dinner time."

VISITATION OF BEWCHEFE.

"In the year of our Lord, 1478, on the 27th of May,¹⁶ we, Richard, etc., visited the monastery of Beauchefe of our said order, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where, making inquiry in accordance with our office, we found nothing which needed to be corrected, or reported to the general chapter; but, as regards keeping silence, which is the 'key of religion,' in the places where it should be kept, for the sake of greater security, we commanded the abbot and presidents of the convent to correct delinquents according to the statutes.

"And we ordered the *Lætatus sum*¹⁷ to be sung every day in the mass with the accustomed collects.

¹⁴ Hubertus a Monte Hermerio was 39th Abbot General of Prémontré, from 3rd September, 1471, to 17th March, 1497.

¹⁵ *Cicariæ*. A cicary is what a province is in other orders. The order was divided into 28 cicaries. There were four provinces or cicaries in this kingdom. 1st, in Scotland and North England; 2nd, in Mid-England; 3rd, in South England; 4th, in Ireland.

¹⁶ As Hales Owen is in Shropshire, the visitor must have travelled very quickly, for he was visiting there on the 20th.

¹⁷ Psalm, 122. "I was glad when they said unto me we will go into the house of the Lord."

"We denounced brothers Robert Bowland and John Norton for not appearing before us in our said visitation, and suspended them; ordering them to appear before us in the monastery of Welbek on the Sabbath day next following, to show cause why they should not be excommunicated.

"And we exhorted and commanded the Lord Abbot to build stalls in the choir as soon as he conveniently could.

"In the last visitation the said monastery owed 20 marks, but now it owes £40. It is well provided with corn and other necessaries."

VISITATION IX.

I here insert a visitation of Newhouse, and the decree of abbot Swift's election to that house. Newhouse appears to have been in the same state of disorder as Beauchief in abbot Downham's time, sixteen years ago; and, as Swift possessed the qualification of "an able administrator," and was, moreover, according to the decree, "famed for the purity of his life and morals," we may be sure he was chosen by the Visitor for the express purpose of correcting the vices of a disordered monastery. Ashton, the retiring abbot, would appear to have been worn out with age and unable to grapple with the refractory canons under his rule.

"Visitation of Newhouse Abbey. How the abbot resigned, etc.

"In the year of our Lord, 1478, on the 3rd day of June, we, Richard, etc., visited the monastery of Newhouse of our order, in the diocese of Lincoln, where our venerable brother Thomas Ashton, abbot of the said monastery, worn out with age, and moved thereto by other lawful and honest causes, resigned on the said day, and that venerable and worthy man Dom. John Swyft, abbot of Beauchief, was elected to the same prelacy, and translated thereto by the authority of the said Lord Bishop and Visitor, as more fully appears in the decrees of the said election.

"Brother Thomas Tatyrsall was accused of incontinence and apostacy, and brothers Thomas Hull, John Hull, Gilbert Egleston, and Thomas Usceby, were also accused of the same crimes, as

publicly appears in the decrees of the said Lord Visitor. And the said Thomas Tatysall, Thomas Ulceby, and William Yorke were accused of taking dark places with intention to kill the cellarer, by destroying his chamber.¹⁸ But they all denied the said crimes, and appeared to defend themselves. And then by the intercession of their own abbot, the abbot of Barlynges, and the whole convent, the said venerable Lord Visitor, with the hope of their amendment, and of their leading a better life, reserved his punishment, and directed it to be postponed.

“He commanded the Lord Abbot, under penalty of contempt, to increase the number of his canons, and to pay every priest 20s. a year for his clothing, and ordered every canon to wear an amice under his cope, and that no one should blame another after the Visitor’s departure in respect of anything whereof he had been charged in his visitation, under penalty of excommunication.

“And the Lord Abbot was commanded, under penalty of contempt, to find a servant in the monastery for his predecessor brother Thomas Ashton, at the expense of the monastery, and a canon to be with him to say his service.

“The inventory of this monastery, touching its spiritual and temporal condition, its assets and its debts, written in a bipartite indenture on the election of the new abbot, remains, as to one part, with the Lord Visitor and the Commissary of the Abbot of Lisques (on this occasion father abbot of the said monastery of Newhouse) as to the other part, with the abbot of this monastery.

“We commanded the abbot, by virtue of wholesome obedience, to furnish, of his fatherly affection and compassion, food for brother John Barton, and to keep his jewels, money, deeds, and common seal under three keys, the first to remain with the abbot, the second with the prior, and the third with the sacristan; and also to watch over his brethren in the appointed places,¹⁹ under penalty of the statute, without any remission.”

¹⁸ *Quod ceperunt loca tenebrosa, intendentes destruere celarium frangendo ejus cameram.*

¹⁹ The places where silence had to be kept. The Norbertine order was essentially contemplative. For the observance of silence, see visitations 3, 5, and 8.

“DECREE OF THE ELECTION, ASKING, AND TRANSLATION OF THE ABBOT OF BEAUCHEFE TO THE CHURCH OF NEWHOUSE.

“To all the children of Holy Mother church, to whom these letters shall come, Richard, etc., health and knowledge of the truth. The abbey of Newhouse having lately become vacant through the resignation and voluntary renunciation of brother Thomas Aschton, abbot thereof, freely and spontaneously delivered into our hands, we, lest the church itself, having no solace, might suffer grievous loss, appointed the prior and brethren of the church thus vacant a day for the election of a new abbot, namely, the 3rd day of June, 1478. None of the professed brethren of the said church being absent, we celebrated the mass of the Holy Spirit, and taking with us our venerable brother Master William Lincoln, batchelor in ecclesiastical canon law,²⁰ admonished the abbot of Barlyng in the chapter house, that all persons excommunicated, suspended, or forbidden, if they were any, should leave the chapter house, but permitted the others to have a voice in the election, saying distinctly that it was neither our intention nor that of the brethren of the aforesaid church, to proceed in any way to the election of a new abbot in the presence of such persons.

“We read the chapter of the statutes of our order on election, first invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, and at length the vacant house determined to elect a pastor by way of compromise.²¹ No objection being made they gave brothers Thomas Ascheton, Thomas Halton the prior, Thomas Tatyrsall, John Barton, Robert York, Robert Kyryngton, Thomas Hull, Robert Beverley, the elder, and Robert Beverley, the younger, canons and professed brethren of

²⁰ *In decretis bacularius*. Students took the degrees of *Baccalaureatus*, *Licentiatius*, et *Doctoratus*, either in theology or canon law.

²¹ There were three modes, in the Norbertine order, of electing abbots: 1st, by public acclamation of the convent; 2nd, by the use of the ballot; and 3rd, by way of compromise, that is, by electing five or six of the religious who arranged amongst themselves who was to be elected. These were called *compromissarii*. It is somewhat remarkable that Thomas Tatyrsall and others should have been chosen electors, considering the misdemeanours they had been accused of.

the said church, full and free power, and a special mandate, within the time appointed, but from the tenth to the twelfth hour of the said day to elect a new abbot from amongst themselves, or from other brethren of the aforesaid church, or, if they and their house thought it more expedient, from any other members of our order, as they and their house might think most expedient, so that when they were agreed upon a suitable person, one of them, by the order both of themselves and the whole chapter, on whose behalf he acted, might choose that person in the name of the whole convent. Whereupon they all promised, in good faith, to receive him as their abbot and pastor whom the electors nominated. And so the electors took upon themselves the power entrusted to them, and, according to the custom, remained for some time in a secret place. Having discussed the merits of many persons, they chose, elected, and appointed the venerable father Abbot John Swyft, abbot of Beauchief, a wise and discreet man, an able administrator both of matters spiritual and temporal, famed for the purity of his life and morals, skilled in the laws of his church, and willing to abide by them; and, before the hour appointed, brother Thomas Halton, one of the said electors, by his own vote, the vote of his companions, and the whole chapter elected, appointed, and nominated the said venerable father John Swyft, abbot of Beauchief, as their father and pastor, and besought us humbly and earnestly to ratify, approve, and confirm the election thus duly held, as well by the authority of the Lord Abbot of Prémontré, as by the paternal authority which we fully enjoy, and on behalf of our venerable brother of Lisques, father abbot of the said monastery of Newhouse. Accordingly we, with the consent of the elected abbot, carefully examined the election, approved it as canonically celebrated, and confirmed it by the tenor of these presents, by the authority of the Lord Abbot of Prémontré. Whereupon they all with one voice sang the *Te Deum laudamus*, and, according to the custom, carried the elected abbot to the church, and we gave him corporal possession of the said church by delivering the bells into his hands, and, when we had installed him, the

brethren went back to the chapter house and offered manual obedience to him, and we handed to him the official seal of his office. In testimony whereof the common seal of this monastery is hereto affixed, together with the seals of the said reverend father Richard, bishop of St. Asaph, and of the venerable father the abbot of Barlyng."

"PENSION ASSIGNED TO THOMAS ASTON, ABBOT OF NEWHOUSE,
ON HIS RESIGNATION.

"To all the faithful in Christ, etc. Know ye that we John Swift, Abbot of Newhouse and the convent thereof, have given, granted, and by this charter confirmed to Richard Winton of Corksay and Gilbert Boston of Kelby, in the county of Lincoln, a certain annual rent of 10 marks of lawful English money, to them or their certain attorneys, heirs, or executors, to be truly paid by equal portions at the two terms of the year, viz., at the Feast of St. Martin in the winter, and the Feast of Pentecost, during the natural life of Dom. Thomas Ashton, late Abbot of Newhouse. And if it shall happen that the said payment of 10 marks shall be in arrear, either in whole or in part, for more than 40 days after either of the feasts aforesaid, then it shall be lawful for the said Richard and Gilbert, or their attorneys, heirs, or executors, to distrain upon all the lands and tenements of the said abbot and convent, in Hotoft, and the distress to retain until the payment in arrear is fully satisfied. In witness whereof we have caused our common seal to be affixed, together with the seal of the reverend father, Richard, Bishop of St. Asaph and Abbot of Shap, Commissary General of the Lord Abbot of Prémontré, and for this purpose Commissary of the Abbot of Licques, Master William Lincoln, Batchelor in decrees, the Abbot of Barlynges. Given in the monastery of Newhouse, on the 3rd of June, A.D. 1478, in the 18th year of the reign of King Edward IV."

The new abbot of Beauchief, who took the place of Abbot Swift, was Thomas Wedur, canon of Croxton, and prior of Hornby. The appointment of a stranger to their house would appear to have caused great dissatisfaction to the canons, and accordingly, three

weeks after Swift's departure, Skipton the prior and five others rose in open rebellion. I give the mandates issued from head-quarters:—

“ Monasteries of Prémontré.

“ Beauchief, in the county of Derby.

[June 24th, 1478.]

“ Mandate of the same Commissary-General to William, abbot of Welbek (father abbot of Beauchief), to summon Robert Skippton, John Ascheton, Thomas Payton, and John Creke, canons of Beauchief, to appear in the monastery of Tychfeld [Hampshire], on the 22nd of July next, to show cause why they should not be excommunicated.

“ 1. Richard, Bishop of St. Asaph, &c., to William, abbot of Welbek, salvation through the Son of the Virgin.

“ 2. We firmly and straitly charge you that ye summon, or cause to be summoned, Robert Skippton, John Ascheton, Thomas Peyton, and John Creke, by the permission of God fellow-canons of Beauchief,

“ 3. to appear in person before us on the 21st day of the month of July next following,

“ 4. to show reasonable cause (if they have any) why they should not be laid under the sentence of greater excommunication.

“ 5. Given at Cambridge the day after the feast of St. John the Baptist,²² 1478.”

These refractory canons would appear to have treated the summons with contempt, for a couple of months afterwards another summons was issued in language much more peremptory. I give a translation:—

[16th AUGUST, 1478.]

“ 1. Richard, &c., to our venerable brethren in Christ the abbots of the monasteries of Welbeck and Dale, health and obedience to our commands; yea, rather the commands of our Lord of Prémontré.

“ 2. We command and straitly charge you, by virtue of whole-

²² June 24th.

some obedience, and of other penalties, which, unless with all diligence ye obey these our mandates, we shall most severely inflict,

"3. that ye summon, or cause to be summoned, or that one of you summon, or cause to be summoned (whom we summon by the tenor of these presents), Robert Scippton, John Aston, Robert Wolflet, Thomas Peyton, William Swynden, and John Creke, fellow-canons of the monastery of Beauchief, of our order of Prémontré,

"4. to appear in person before us and our venerable brethren in Christ, the abbots of Barlyng, Newhouse, Croxton, Tupholm, Hag-neby, and yourselves, on the 5th day of September next following these presents, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the chapter-house of the Grey Friars, at Doncaster, in the county of York,

"5. to answer certain questions, which by virtue of our office we ought to ask, concerning the true correction of their minds,²³ and also to show reasonable cause (if they have any) why they should not be openly, publicly, and solemnly laid under the sentence of greater excommunication, by reason of their rebellion and contumacy, which is even greater than before, and be denounced, with their comrades (so far as they lawfully can be) in walking, in sitting, in waking, in sleeping, in eating, in drinking, in talking, and in silence, not only in the church of God, but out of doors and in market places, in cities, towns, paths and ways, and in all other places where this denunciation shall be more effectual, and a writ be issued from the King's Majesty to attach their persons.

"6. Moreover, on behalf of our Lord of Prémontré, we straitly charge you that ye summon or caused to be summoned Robert Staveley, fellow canon of the monastery of Welbeck, to appear in person before us, on the day and at the hour and place aforesaid, under penalty of the greater excommunication, to show letters from us (if he pretends to have any), that they may be carefully examined as to the handwriting and the seal, lest perchance he should desire to be examined on false letters.²⁴

²³ *Meram animar suar correctionem concernentibus.* This language is very vague.

²⁴ The original is: *Ne forte ex falsis litteris vellet se rimari.*

"7. And we firmly enjoin you and each of you, that whatsoever ye shall do in the premisses, to duly certify the same in your proper persons on the day and hour aforesaid, under the penalty of contempt.

"8. Given under the seal of our office at Wynsowr (Windsor) on the 16th of August, A.D. 1478."

The following questions and answers are stated to have been made "in the visitation of 1478." This would probably be the time when Abbot Wedur was elected:—

"Questions (amongst others) proposed by Richard Redman, Lord Bishop of Asaph and Abbot of Shap [Commissary General], of Hubert, Lord Abbot of Prémontré, in his visitation of all and singular the monasteries of England and Wales, made A.D. 1478.

"Q. What is the name, or what are the names of your monastery?

"A. Monastery of *Bellum Caput*, or Beauchief.

"Q. In what county, and in what diocese is it situate?

"A. In [the county of Derby and] diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

"Q. On what day, month, and year, and by what person or persons was it founded?

"A. It was founded on the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, A.D. 1183 [by Robert Fitzranulph].

"Q. To what saint, or saints, was it dedicated?

"A. In honour of St. Thomas the Martyr.

"Q. Who is your father abbot, or, in other words, to what monastery is your house affiliated?

"A. The Abbot of Welbeck is our father abbot.

"Q. On what day did canons of that mother-house first come to your monastery?

"A. . . .

"Q. Who was the first abbot of your monastery ?

"A. . . .

"Q. What abbeys (*ecclesiæ*) or religious houses are affiliated to your monastery ?

"A. . . .

"Q. What cells are attached to your monastery ?

"A. . . .

"Q. What parish churches are appropriated to your house ?

"A. They (*sic*) have three churches.

"Q. By what curates or vicars are those churches served ?

"A. The canons are perpetual vicars.

"Q. How many chantries have you ?

"A. . . .

"Q. By what curates are they served ?

"A. . . .

"Q. How many abbots have you had ?

"A. . . .

"Q. Your patron ?

"A. Thomas Cheworth is our founder [or patron].

"Q. Who is your abbot ?

"A. . . ."

With regard to the answers to the questions propounded, it may be observed that they would appear to show a strange ignorance, on the part of the canons, of the history of their house.

The answers to the questions, however, were evidently not written at Beauchief, for it would be absurd to suppose that the canons did not know the name of their founder, especially as he is most distinctly mentioned both in the two obituaries and the chartulary.

VISITATION X.

"These are the names of the canons of our order throughout the vicarries of England, as they were taken in the visitation of Richard

Bishop of St. Asaph, and abbot of the monastery of Shap, in his visitation beginning in the monastery of Egliston, the 10th day of May, A.D. 1482.

“Names of the Canons of Beucheffe.

Dom. THOMAS WYDDUR, abbot.

Dom. ROBERT SKYPTON, prior.

STEPHEN POWER, vicar of Wymundesswold.

WILLIAM BROY'TEN, vicar of Oferton.

ROBERT BOLAND, out with leave.

JOHN NORTON, also out with leave.

WYLL' WYDDOSON.

JOHN ASCHETON.

ROBERT WOLFATT.

THOMAS PAYTON, chanter.

VICAR OF NORTON.

WYLL' SWYNDALL.

JOHN CROKE, sub-cellarer.

JOHN BOTHAM, sacristan.

RICHARD BRASSE, } novices.”

WYLL' PETON,

VISITATION XI.

“Progress of the visitation of the Reverend Father Richard Redmayne, Bishop of St. Asaph, who, riding from his diocese of St. Asaph, began his visitation in the monastery of Hales Owen, by the authority of the reverend father Hubert Lord Abbot of Prémontré, on the 13th day of May, 1488.

* * * * *

“Arrived at Bewcheffe on the 24th, fasting, at dinner time or thereabouts. Entered the chapter-house on the following day, and finished on the 26th. Staid there during that day on account of its solemnity.²⁵

²⁵ Probably Ascension Day or Corpus Christi.

“Names of the brethren of Bewcheffe.

“Dom. THOMAS WYDDUR, abbot.

Brother ROBERT SKYPTON, prior.

„ JOHN CROKE, supprior.

„ JOHN NORTON.

„ JOHN ASTON.

„ ROBERT WOLSETT, circator.

„ THOMAS PAYTON, chanter.

„ WILLIAM SWYNDEN.

„ JOHN BOTHAM.

„ RICHARD BRASSE, sacristan.

„ EDMUND FURNESSE.

„ WILLIAM DRONFELD.

„ WILLIAM KECHYN, vicar of Norton.

„ STEPHEN POWHER, vicar of Wymyswold.

„ WILLIAM BROY'TON, vicar of Offerton.

“VISITATION OF THE MONASTERY OF THE BLESSED MARY
OF BEWCHEFFE.

“In this monastery they consume every week 10 bushels of wheat, 16 bushels of oats, and four bushels of barley. They have 24 oxen, 28 sheep, and 12 pigs.

“In the year of our Lord 1488, on the 25th of May, we Richard, etc., taking with us our brother Robert Bedall, canon and prior of our said monastery of Shap, visited the monastery of Bewcheffe, of our order, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where we found the venerable abbot, pious, learned, and meek, and supplying all things needful to his brethren.

“We found certain brethren, viz., Robert Skypton, John Norton, and Edmund Furnes, neglectful in observing silence, wherefore we ordered them all to be put on bread and water for one day, but on account of the solemnity of the day we remitted their punishment, ordering all the delinquent brethren, under penalty of the statute (to be exacted without any remission), to amend their behaviour in

future. And, moreover, we straitly charged the Lord Abbot, by virtue of wholesome obedience, to punish delinquents in this respect most severely, or see that they are duly censured. And we commanded him to cause his brethren to be instructed in science,²⁶ and to study their books during lecture, as they are bound to do.

"We found nothing else to be corrected, but we left all other reforms to the discretion of the abbot, by whose care and circumspection the said house is now burdened only with a debt of £10, whereas on the last visitation it was owing £40. The house is amply provided with cattle, corn, and all other necessities. Given under the seal of our Visitor, etc."

VISITATION XII.

"In the year of our Lord 1491, on the 20th day of August, we Richard, etc., taking with us (as aforesaid), visited the monastery of Beucheff of our said order, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where we found our brethren pious and devout, the abbot embracing them with the arms of affection. Nevertheless we straitly charged all the brethren of the said church that none of them should secretly dare to keep for themselves more than the sum of 21s., but should give an account of their money to their abbot once at least in every year, lest they who did otherwise should be accounted amongst the rich, and be damned with Judas the betrayer, who, whilst he sought for gain, came to a halter.

"Moreover we commanded that the brethren should not go beyond the precincts of the monastery, either by night or by day, without the leave of the abbot first had and obtained.

"William Wydoson, canon of this monastery, having been lawfully cited to appear before us, and though long expected, having in nowise appeared, we pronounced rebellious, and we suspended him,

²⁶ *Scientia* here means theological science, in which the abbot had to cause his brethren to be instructed, and hence to make them study their books when the lessons were explained. The writings of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas were the books most generally studied.

ordering him, moreover, to appear before us in the monastery of Newhouse, the day after the feast of St. Augustine, under penalty of the greater excommunication.

“At this time we found nothing more to be corrected, but as regards the condition of the monastery, as much is owing to it as it owes.

“In other respects we beheld the said church adorned with such fair decorations, buildings, and repairs, that well may it be said with the prophet: ‘O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house.’

“Moreover its stock of cattle and flocks is much greater than before.

“Names of the brethren of Beuceff.

“Dom. THOMAS WYDDUR, abbot.

Brother JOHN NORTON.

„ JOHN ASTON, out of the monastery.

„ ROBERT WOLSED.

„ THOMAS PAYTON, out of the monastery.

„ WILLIAM LYNDEN.

„ JOHN BOTHAM.

„ RICHARD BRASSE.

„ WILLIAM HYSTON.

„ WILLIAM WEDOSON, out of the monastery.”

VISITATION XIII.

“Progress of the reverend father in Christ, Richard Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, and Abbot of Shap, A.D. 1494.

+ + + + +

“On the 24th of May, arrived at Doncaster before dinner. Staid there all night at the expense of the abbot of Beuceff. On the 25th, came to Beuceff fasting at dinner time or thereabouts, after nones. To visit and finish on the morrow.

“Names of the brethren of Beucheff.

“Dom. JOHN NORTON, abbot.

Brother THOMAS PATON, supprior.

- „ RICHARD HOLYNBRYGGE, vicar of Wemswald.
- „ JOHN CRUK, vicar of Norton.
- „ WILLIAM BROTHERTON, vicar of Alfreton.
- „ JOHN ASTON, chaplain of Alfreton chantry.
- „ ROBERT WOLSETE.
- „ WILLIAM SWYNDALL, cellarer.
- „ JOHN BOTHAM.
- „ RICHARD BRASSE, circator, and chanter in the choir.
- „ WILLIAM DRONFELD, sacristan.
- „ REGINALD BALLE, accolite and sub-cantor.
- „ EDMUND FURNES, licentiate.
- „ ROBERT BOLAND, licentiate.
- „ GEORGE LYTYLPORTE, canon of West Dereham.”

VISITATION OF BEUCHEFF.

“In the year of our Lord 1494, on the 25th day of May, we Richard, etc., taking with us our beloved brother Robert Bedall, canon of our said monastery, visited the monastery of Beucheff, of our order of Prémontré, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where we found a certain brother, Robert Wolset, loudly defamed for divers abominable crimes and excesses, as well by the common report of the whole country as by the account of the whole convent, that is to say, of open rebellion against the abbot, and of striking those who opposed him by force of arms; also of apostacy, *et de lapsu carnis cum quadam muliere vocata Johanna Steryn, cum qua habuit et habet testem super terram*. Whereupon he, being questioned by us, could deny none of these accusations, but earnestly implored for mercy. Accordingly, for his rebellion, as aforesaid, we ordered him to have 40 days [penitence] and to be sent for three years to the monastery of Tor, and for his incontinence we ordered him to undergo

40 days penitence,²⁷ and to be sent for three years to Tor. But then his own abbot and brethren, falling on their knees and prostrating themselves before us, entreated us with many intercessions on his behalf, and we, being moved to mercy by their supplication, postponed the said punishment and banishment until after our return, viz., until the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary next following, his punishment to be regulated by the manner in which he observed discipline, failed to redeem the time he had lost, or, as the case might be, grew worse from day to day. Wherein we commanded the Lord Abbot, under penalty of deposition, and the brethren of the said house, under penalty of the greater excommunication, to faithfully make known to us the manner of his amendment.

“Moreover we commanded the Lord Abbot and convent, under penalty of contempt, to procure the decrees of the last provincial chapter, and cause to be inscribed in their books and duly observed.

“For the future we ordered the tonsure of the brethren to be lessened and altered according to the statutes of our order.

“We found the said church was £5 in debt, but in all other things, both within and without, amply provided for.”

VISITATION XIV.

“The before-mentioned monasteries having been duly visited as aforesaid, then the journey of the Reverend Lord Bishop of Exeter²⁸ through his circuit in England was as follows:—

“On the 23rd, staid all night at Doncaster, at the expense of the abbot of Beauchief. On the 24th, arrived at Beauchief at supper-time, and on the same day entered the chapter-house. Finished on the morrow.

²⁷ The original is : *quadraginta dierum graviorum culpa punitiam*. I have supplied the word “penitence,” though perhaps something severer is intended. The headings in the chapters of the statutes are *de levioribus culpis*, *de mediis*, *de gravi*, *de graviori*, *de gravissima culpa*. Torr, in Devonshire, was the largest house of the order in England.

²⁸ Redmayne had been translated to Exeter.

“Names of the brethren of Beauchief.

Dom. JOHN NORTON, abbot.

Brother JOHN ASTON.

- „ JOHN CROK, vicar of Norton.
- „ ROBERT WOLSET, circator.
- „ RICHARD HOLYNBRIGE, vicar of Wemswold.
- „ WILLIAM SWYNDALL.
- „ THOMAS PAYTON, supprior.
- „ JOHN BOTHAM.
- „ RICHARD BRASSE, chanter.
- „ WILLIAM DARTON, sacristan.
- „ WILLIAM DRONFELD.
- „ ROLAND BALL, succentor.
- „ EDMUND FURNES, licentiate.

VISITATION OF THE SAME.

“In the year of our Lord 1498, and the 25th day of August, we, Richard, etc., visited the monastery of Beauchief of our order of Prémontré, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, where we commanded them to sing the psalms with care at the end of each verse, not lengthening the note, nor lowering their voices, but rather lifting them up.

“We ordered Richard Holynbrige, formerly canon of Welbek, to offer in our presence manual obedience to the Lord Abbot of Beauchief, by reason of his benefice [of Wimeswold] presented to him by the said Lord Abbot. He was also questioned with respect to incontinence, disobedience, and slandering his own abbot, but he swore, upon his oath, that he had never slandered (*diffamasse*) the abbot before any one. Nevertheless, in order to obtain further evidence in the meantime, we commanded the same Richard to appear before us in the 3rd day of September next, in the monastery of Welbek, and there humbly to submit to whatever justice shall require.

“Owing to the extent of the buildings and the great repairs they

are undergoing, the debts of the house are increased, and, at the present time, amount to four score marks.

"In all other respects, in cattle, corn, and other necessities, we found the house exceedingly well provided."

VISITATION XV.

"Names of the brethren of Beauchief.

Dom. JOHN NORTON, abbot.

Brother JOHN CROK, vicar of Norton.

„ RICHARD HOLYNBRYGGE, vicar of Wymswold.

„ THOMAS PEYTON, prior.

„ JOHN BOOTHAM, supprior.

„ ROBERT BOLAND.

„ JOHN ASTON, sacristan.

„ ROBERT WOLFLEET, circator,

„ WILLIAM SWYNDELL, cellarer,

„ RICHARD BRASSE, chanter,

„ WILLIAM DRONFELD, sub-sacristan, } priests.

„ ROLAND BAALL, sub-cantor,

„ EDMUND FOORNES, licentiate,

„ WILLIAM DARTON, apostate,

VISITATION OF THE SAID MONASTERY.

"In the year of our Lord 1500, and the 12th day of May, we Richard, &c., taking with us our beloved brother Robert Bedall, professed canon and priest of our said monastery of Schappe, visited the monastery of Beauchief, of our said order of Prémontré, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, when, having found brother William Darnton a heretic (*profugum*) and apostate, we pronounced him excommunicate.

"Everything else, both within and without, we found well ordered, together with concord between the head and members, the abbot providing all things necessary for his brethren, but not being able to

lessen the debts of the house, owing to royal²⁹ or ecclesiastical burdens. So that now, as before, the said house is charged with a debt of four score marks or more.

"It was never so well provided with corn, cattle, and other necessities of all kinds, owing to the careful provision of the abbot.

"All the brethren of the monastery having appeared before us, we, seeing that their merits deserved it, absolved them from all services of our law and order."

VISITATION XVI.

"Visitation and reformation of the convent of Beauchief, by Thomas, Abbot of Welbek, father abbot of the church of Beauchief, by the command of the aforesaid Commissary-General.

"1. In the year of our Lord 1501, on the 3rd day of April, we, Thomas, Abbot of Welbeck, came to the church of Beauchief (which is our own daughter), wherein, after making diligent inquiry touching as well its temporal as its spiritual condition, we found that both were sufficiently cared for, praised be God for the same.

"2. We found mutual peace and concord between its head and members.

"3. In correcting and reforming those things which, according to the law of God and the statutes of our order, we found in need of correction, we exhorted the Lord Abbot to watch diligently over the flock committed to his charge, as he would answer for it before God at the last day of account.³⁰

"4. We also charged the Prior, the Sub-prior, and the Circator, that they would each of them diligently keep the offices entrusted to them, according to the statutes of our order.

²⁹ The monasteries were doubtless heavily taxed at this time. They had grown so wealthy that royalty was accustomed to draw largely on their resources. To "An annual grant (1522) to be made by the Spirituality for the King's personal expenses in France, for the recovery of the crown of the same," Beauchief contributed £66. 13s. 4d., probably more than a fourth of its yearly income.—*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic. Vol. 3, part 2.*

³⁰ *In ultimo examine.*

"5. But we inflicted a penalty of ten days on the Sub-prior, because he strove contentiously³¹ with his Prior, in the presence of the secular brethren.

"6. We also inflicted the same penalty on Robert Wulflet, in the discretion of his own prelate.

"7. And we commanded them that they should not allow their brethren to go beyond the boundaries of the monastery to see common shows,³² or to any inhabited place either without or within the precincts, without the special license of the abbot.

"8. This abbey owed on its last visitation four score marks. On the present visitation, according to the abbot, £40.

³¹ *Proterve contendebat.*

³² *Ad communia spectacula, nec ad aliquem villalem locum.* It is well known how fond the monastic orders were of sights and amusements. It is said that some Franciscan friars, having passed into England, and taking their way towards Oxford, stopped at a Benedictine abbey, where a young monk, thinking them, by their ridiculous habit, to be some jugglers, ran immediately to give notice of it to the abbot, who, in hopes of having some good sport, bade them come in. But they, having made them to understand they were poor friars, who came to implore their charity, the abbot and monks commanded they should be turned out of doors.—*Fosbrooke*, ii., 27.



CHAPTER VII.

Dependent Churches—Dronfield—Early importance of the benefice—Appropriated to the abbey in 1399—Perpetual Vicarage created by virtue of the statute in 1403—The monastery to provide service books, &c.—Gild brotherhood at Dronfield, founded in 1349—Its rules and list of its possessions—Report of a Special Commission issued temp. Elizabeth, concerning the Church—Church and parsonage in decay when the abbey was dissolved—Breaking of glass in the church attributed to “crows and other vermyne”—“Certain freemasons and other cunning artificers” are called in to repair—The parishioners lend their aid—Misuse of churches in Elizabeth’s time—Old musical instruments depicted in the stained glass—The choir-master of the abbey first Protestant vicar—Early conveyances—Norton—Ancient font there—Highly decorated monument—The abbey supplies the Vicar of Norton with 468 gallons of ale a year—Alfreton—Wymeswold, the most important of the abbey’s benefices—Edwalton.



WE have already seen that four churches were bestowed on the monastery by its founder. Of the early history of these churches I shall here give some slight account.

DRONFIELD.

There was no church at Dronfield at the Conquest.¹ In a deed, however, the date of which can be approximately estimated by the names of the witnesses to be about A.D. 1250 or 1260, mention is made of “Thomas, parson of *Dranefend*, and Peter, chaplain of the same town,” from which we may gather that a church was in existence at that time.² The advowson was anciently vested in the family of Brailsford, lords of the manor of Birchet, in this parish.³ As it was then the most valuable rectory in the deanery of Scarsdale, being only surpassed by one other benefice in the whole county,⁴ and lay within some three or four miles of Beauchief, we cannot wonder that the canons should regard it as a most desirable acquisition to their yearly-increasing possessions. “The contrivance of appropri-

¹ Doomsday.

² Pegge, 92.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cox’s *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*.

ating livings," says Sir Wm. Blackstone, "seems to have sprung from the policy of the monastic orders, who have never been deficient in subtle inventions for the increase of their own power and emoluments. . . . It was inferred by the monasteries that a small part was sufficient for the officiating priest, and that the remainder might well be applied to the use of their own fraternities (the endowment of which was considered to be a work of the most exalted piety,) subject to the burthen of repairing the church, and providing for its constant supply. And therefore they begged and bought for masses and obits, and sometimes even for money, all the advowsons within their reach, and then appropriated the benefices to the use of their own corporations." We find that on the 20th September, 1399, Ralph Barker, of Dore and Woodhouse, who had purchased the advowson for £100, gave up his rights to the abbey. In the same year Pope Boniface IX. appropriated the rectory to the abbey; and on the 2nd December, John Ascheby, rector, read his resignation in the church.⁵ Three years after this, or in A.D. 1402, an Act was passed which was intended in some measure to retard these aggressions. It ordained that the vicar (or officiating priest) should be a secular person, not a member of any religious house; that he should be vicar perpetual, not removable at the caprice of the monastery; that he should be canonically instituted and inducted, and be sufficiently endowed, at the discretion of the ordinary, for three express purposes—to do divine service, to inform the people, and to keep hospitality.⁶ Accordingly we find that in the year following the passing of the statute, John Burghill, then Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, created a perpetual vicarage. The instrument of creation is sufficiently interesting to be given at length:—

"The institution and endowment of the vicarage of Dronfield.

"To all the children of Holy Mother Church to whom these letters shall come, John, by Divine permission, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, salvation through the Saviour of us all. We do make

⁵ Pegge, 97.

⁶ 4 Hen. iv. c. 12.

it known to you, that we, by due process of law, having done all things which the law requires, with the unanimous and express consent of our beloved children in Christ, the abbot and convent of Beauchief, of the order of Prémontré, in our diocese, the appropriators of the parish church of Dronfield, in our said diocese, and with the absolute submission⁷ of all others having any interest in our appointment in this behalf, do ordain that a vicarage shall be instituted and endowed in the said church for ever, in form and manner following:—Firstly, it is our will, and we do declare and ordain, that there shall be a vicar in the said church of Dronfield for ever, who, and his successors the vicars who shall follow him, shall have and take the care of the church and the parishioners thereof, and shall administer the divine offices to the said church and parishioners, to the praise of God. And the said vicar for the time being shall have for his dwelling-place an area, or open space, with a garden and five acres of arable land and meadow; in which area or open space the said religious men shall, within a year after the admission and institution of the said vicar, in the first place erect anew, at their own cost, a convenient habitation, viz., a hall, two chambers, a kitchen, and a stable, according to our order and instructions, or the order and instructions of our successors. But after they have been built, the vicar for the time being shall uphold, repair, and maintain the same. Moreover, the said vicar shall every year receive from the said religious men, for his maintenance, £10 sterling of good and lawful money, at the four quarters of the year, viz., at Easter (*ad festa Paschæ*), the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Saint Michael, and the Nativity of our Lord, to be truly paid in the said church of Dronfield, by equal portions, for ever, under pain of a double penalty, which the said religious men shall incur whenever they shall make default in paying the same within ten days after the end of any of the said quarter-days, we applying the same towards maintaining the fabric of our cathedral churches, and we do declare that they shall be bound and compelled by us, and our successors, or by our

⁷ The phrase is "*in alto et basso se submittere.*"

office, to pay the same, on pain of sequestration of the rents and profits of the said church of Dronfield, and other ecclesiastical censures. And the said vicar shall take all tithes of young pigs, geese, flax, hemp, and the confessional pennies of the parishioners, trentals,⁸ and all manner of legacies.⁹ We do also ordain that the vicar for the time being shall, in every year, at the proper seasons, pay, or cause to be paid, the archdeacon's procuration fee. But the books, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, which the rector of the said church is obliged to find, shall be prepared, and, when necessary, repaired¹⁰ by the said religious men. And the said religious men shall take and bear the expense of all other burdens, of what kind soever, which may fall upon the said church; also the expense of repairing or building the chancel thereof, when it shall be necessary, so far as such expense ought to be borne by the rector of the said church. In testimony of all which things, as well our seal as the common seal of the Abbot and Convent of Beauchief aforesaid, are to these presents affixed. Given and done in our castle of Eccleshall, on the 10th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1403, and in the year of our translation the fifth."

The Taxation Roll of A.D. 1291 estimates the annual value of the rectory at £40, a considerable sum in those days.¹¹ Of this it has been shown that the convent appropriated three-quarters.

⁸ *Trentals*. Ital. *trenta*, i.e., *triginta*. At the end of thirty days after a person's death, a solemn mass was said by the priest, who received payment for it. It is usually called "The month's mind." The will of Thomas Windsor, Esq., 1479, provides "That against my moneth's minde, the candles bren before the rude in the Parish Church. Also that at my moneths' minde my executors provide twenty priests to sing *Placebo*, *Dirige*, &c." (Brand, *Popular Antiq.*, 190).

⁹ According to Cowell, *legatum* is the accustomed mortuary, sometimes called the *soul shot* or *soul payment*. I have chosen to retain the word "legacy" because I think that *legata* may here mean either "mortuaries" or the money and goods of intestates. It was assumed in those days that, when a man died without a will he intended to leave his money to the Church.

¹⁰ The monks were great artificers. In the Paston letters we read, "I pray you speak with Harcourt, of the abbey, for a little clock, which I sent him by James Gresham, to mend, and that ye would get it of him, and (*if*) it be ready, and send it me; and as for money for his labour, he hath another clock of mine, which Sir Thomas Lyndes, God have his soul! gave me; he may keep that till I pay him."

¹¹ Cox's *Notes*.

I have heard it said, but I know not on what authority, that a chantry attached to this church anciently stood on the spot now occupied by an old hostelry called the Green Dragon. But part of the buildings of that inn would rather lead one to suppose that there stood the gild-hall. As the ordinances of the Dronfield gild have never before been published, and as, moreover, the gild itself was doubtless regulated to some extent by the convent, I shall here give a translation of its rules and list of possessions.

“Gild of Our Blessed Lady.”¹²

“The return of the Alderman and Warden of a certain gild brotherhood, founded in honour of Saint Mary, in the parish church of Dronfield, in the county of Derby, to maintain two chaplains there to celebrate, and also to keep up a certain light at the altar of Saint Mary, in the said parish, or to sustain one chaplain, according to the means of the said gild, such return being sent (by colour of a writ of our Lord the King proclaimed in the said county) by the Alderman and Warden themselves to the chancery of our Lord the King, in the words following :—

“1. It was ordained at the formation of the said gild, in the year of our Lord 1349, by certain parishioners of the said parish, out of a pure intention and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the support of the said two chaplains, or one chaplain, who are there to perform service at the said altar, according to the means of the said gild, for the good estate of the King and Queen, for the peace and tranquillity of as well the whole realm, and the living bretheren and sisteren as for the repose of all departed benefactors of the said gild [as follows] :—

“2. Firstly they ordained that every brother or sister should swear that he or she would, to the best of his or her ability, maintain the said service.

¹² Gild Returns. Original in the Public Record Office. Bundle 308. No. 58. (Membrane 114, pencil numbering). The original return, in Latin, from which I have made the above translation, was kindly furnished me by Miss Toulmin Smith, whose work in connection with the interesting subject on *Early English Gilds*, in connection with that of her late father, is well known.

"3. Also they ordained that if any brother or sister should fall into poverty by misfortune, and not through any fault of their own, and should not be able to work for their livelihood, they should have each a half-penny a day from the common fund, or take their meals with some brother or sister of the gild.

"4. Also they ordained that every brother or sister should offer, on the burial day of any brother or sister, one farthing, or should give it to a poor man.

"5. Also that every brother should have around him, on the day of his burial, twelve wax candles, and every sister six wax candles.

"6. Also they ordained that every brother or sister should promise, without taking an oath, that they would not sue any of their bretheren or sisteren of the said gild, by reason of transgression, without first trying whether the matter could be settled by the Alderman of the said gild, or by one of the bretheren; and if it could not be so settled, that then it should be lawful for the one party to proceed against the other party, according to the Common Law.

"7. Also the custom hath been for all the bretheren and sisteren, or the greater part of them, to meet together once in every year at Dronfield, at their own expense, to enquire into the condition of the gild, to appoint an alderman, and audit his accounts.

"8. Also the custom of the said gild is, and hath ever been, that if any man or woman, being of good and honest report, shall desire to become a member of the said gild, he shall give, of his own free will, a contribution for the maintenance of the said service, according to his ability, and as the alderman and one of the bretheren of the said gild may direct."

Then comes the following list of the possessions of the gild, which I translate:—

"Feoffments of all lands, tenements, and rents made by the persons hereafter mentioned, in fee simple, on condition that they should be granted in mortmain, if license could be obtained, and if not, that they should be sold, and the procceds distributed for the

souls of the grantors, according to the order and discretion of the said gild, and the brethren thereof.

"John de Som'leso [? Summerley] Taylour enfeoffed Ralph Barker and his companions [of the gild] in all that land with the meadow, wood, and appurtenances, in Wetcroft, in the fee of Oneston [Unstone], for the use of the gild aforesaid, in form aforesaid. It is worth 4s. per annum. Payment to the chief lord, 2d.

"Thomas Gray and William Cutteliff enfeoffed the said Ralph and his companions in a piece of land called the Cangle, in the fee of Oneston, to the use of the said gild, in form aforesaid. It is worth 5d. per annum. The chief lord has 3d.

"The same Thomas and William enfeoffed the said Ralph and his companions in a piece of land called the Briggefeld, in the fee of Oneston, to the use of the gild, in form aforesaid. It is worth 21d. per annum.

"The same Thomas and William enfeoffed the said Ralph and his companions in nine messuages and the third part of a messuage, with all lands, etc., to the said messuages belonging, with 14 acres of land and 3 roods of land, lying in the fee of Dronfeld, to the use of the gild aforesaid, in form aforesaid. It is worth 1s. 10d. per annum. The chief lord has 2½d.

"John de Stobley (Stubley), chaplain, enfeoffed the said Ralph and his companions in all lands, etc., which he had in the fee of Dronfeld, to the use of the gild, etc. It is worth 13s. 4d. per annum.

"Edith, formerly wife of Roger, son of Elia de Barle Wodesetes, enfeoffed Egidius de Dronfeld, and his companions, in all the lands, etc., with the houses, gardens, etc., which she had by descent (*de hereditate*) in the fee of Staveley and Dronfeld. It is worth 8s. per annum."

Feoffments made with reversions under the condition aforesaid.

"Robert de Barley the elder,¹³ Robert de Barley the younger, and their companions, enfeoffed John de Stafford and Johanna his

¹³ Tradition says that the alabaster tomb in the squint near the chancel arch is the tomb of Robert de Barley.

wife, and the heirs between the said John and Johanna lawfully begotten, in one messuage, one toft, one carucate of arable land (*terra*), 5 acres of meadow, 6s. rent, and the moiety of a mill, with its appurtenances, in Parva Lo'gesdon, Volgren, Byrchehulles, and Aldeporte. And if it happen that the said John and Johanna die without heirs between them lawfully begotten, the lands, &c., were to remain (*integre remaneant*) to William de More of Barley, Egidius de Dronfeld, Nicholas de Merche, Thomas Gray, their heirs and assigns, in form aforesaid. They are worth £4 per an.

"And the said John de Stafford and Johanna his wife are tenants of all the said lands and tenements.

"Robert Breton enfeoffed Robert de Appletoft in all the lands, &c., which he had in the wapentake of Scaresdale, viz., in Bramp-ton, Chesterfeld, Brymyngtone, and Wytyngtone, to the use of the gild, etc., after the decease of John de Stafford and Johanna his wife, who now hold the said lands, &c. They are worth per an. 26s. 8d.

"Gilbert de Mateloc, chaplain, and his companions, enfeoffed Johanna widow of Robert Breton, of Woddehous [Dronfield Woodhouse], for life, in all those lands which they held of the gift and feoffment of the said Robert Breton, in the villages of Wodehouse and Colley, and, after the decease of the said Johanna, the aforesaid lands, &c., should remain for ever with Robert de Barley the younger, and Thomas le Gray, their heirs and assigns, to the use of the gild of the Blessed Mary, in form aforesaid.

"John Brighte, warden of the said gild, and his companions, have amongst them goods and chattels of the said gild to the value of 100s."

I return now to the church, which more nearly concerns my subject. Accordingly, I shall insert here a document, which gives a curious view of the abbey's former possessions in Dronfield in the early part of Elizabeth's reign.

"Survey of the chancel of the church of Dronfeld."¹⁴

"Articles and instruccions to be inquired upon and executed on the Quene's Majestie's behalfe, by her highnes' Commisioners appoynted to survey the chauncell of the parishe church of Dronfelde, in the Countie of Derby, and the parsonage house there, late parcell of the possessions of the late monastery of Beawcheiff dissolved, and to certifie the decayes thereof.

"1. Firste, to survey and vewe the said chauncell and parsonage, and every part thereof, and to certifie unto the Quene's Maties. Courte of Exchequer herewith in what decaye and ruyne the same and either of them nowe is, howe longe they have so bene in decaye, by what occaision, who hath made any waste or spoyle of the same, and in whose defalte do the same remayne presently unrepayed.

"2. Item to certifie lyckewise particularly and severally howe much tymbre, leade, stone, yron, glasse, and other thing necessarie for the repayinge of such buyldinge will sufficiently repayre the said chauncell and parsonage house, and what provision may be made in that country for the same. And what moneye every parte of the same will coste. And what somme of money the layeing of the said leade and workemanship of every parte of the premisses will amount unto. And to certifie all other thinges which shall seme to the commission nedefull to be knowen for the better reparinge of the premisses.

"3. Item to examyne the parisheoners there, howe mucche and what carrage and labor, tymber, or other thinge they will do and bestowe of there owne charge toward the repayinge of the pre-

¹⁴ Exchequer. Special Commissions. Derby, 5th Eliz. No. 601. In return to the Commission issued by letters patent, 12th Feb., 5th Eliz. This document, as well as the Gild Return, has been kindly supplied by Miss Toulmin Smith. The writ, which is in general terms, is not given here. The third and last membrane of the document is unfortunately illegible in some parts, though the greatest care has been taken in deciphering it.

misses. And what be their names that will so doe or bestow, and in what sorte. And what leade will suffice for the premisses over and beside that which nowe remaineth there. And what will a solder of leade coste to be delivered at the said church.

“4. Item, who hath purloyned and taken away from the saide chauncell or parsonage house any tymbre, stone, iron, glasse, leade, or other necessities, to what valeur, and what be ther names, and about what tyme any of the premisses was so purloyned and taken awaye.”

[The following is the answer returned from Dronfield, as far as it can be deciphered.¹⁵]

“A survey ordered of the chauncell of the Parishe [churche of] Dronfeld, in the countye of Derbye, and parsonage howse, parcell of the possessions of the late dissolved [monastery] of Beauchef, made the fyftenthe day of [Aprill in the] yere of the [reigne] of owre most gracious Elizabethhe, by the grace of God quene of E and Irelande, defender of the faithe, &c., by George Barley, Esquire, and Edmund Stephenson, by vertue of the Quene's Majestie's Comission to them directed.

“First, we the said Commissioners, for the better execution and for the more perfecte knowledg of the holle trewth towching th' articles annexed to the Commission, have called before us honeste and discreete persons, whom we thought most meete best declare the trewth whoss names [are] hereafter expressed, that is to saie, John Barker, gent', Robert Barker, gent', Robert Cooke, Robert [Streton], John Calton (?), Christo age, Robert Hopkins John Curtledge, William Masone, Edmund Coote (?), John and John whom we, the said Commissioners, charged upon their othes, as well to inquere of the ruine and decay of the said chauncell and parsonage howse, as also of the residue of the said articles. And the said persons before remembered, havinge

¹⁵ The words in brackets are more or less conjectural.

convenient tyme given unto them by us the said Commissioners for makinge of there verdyt in this behalfe, came eftsones before us the said Commissioners, at Dronfelde aforesaid, the daye and yere before remembered, and then and there gave their verdyt towchinge the premisses, in forme folowinge, that is to say :—

“First, they say, upon there othes, that one great wyndow in the east end of the said chauncell ys fallene downe, and yn great ruyn and decaye, and that they thinke and judge in their conscience that twenty and foure wayne lodes of stone well (?) sufficient for the necessarye repayringe of the said wyndowe, and that the said stones will cost and of the said stones will coste sixe poundes . . . fyve shillings the

“Item, they say, upon their othes, that wyndowes in the said chauncell, besides the said great wyndowe before remembered, which be partly in decay for want of glasse and iron, and they think of their conscience three hundreth weight of iron will suffice for the sufficient reparac’ons of the said great wyndow and windowes of the said chauncell, and that the said three hundreth weight of iron will cost fourtye shillings and that two hundreth foot of glass will suffice for the reparacon of the windowes of the said chauncell, and that the said glass will cost four poundes, that is to say, eight pence the foote.

“Item, they say that there is also in the said chauncell which is in decay, and that the window gutteres, and the residue of the said windows twentye poundes at the least.

“Item, they say that the roof of the said chauncell is [in decay] and that they thinke in the And that the of poundes at ten shillings

“Item, they also say that the seelinge of the said chauncell is in decay [and ruinous], that seelinge bords reparacons thereof will cost poundes, as they think seeling will cost [forty] shillings.

“Item, they say that the said great window and roof of the said chauncell was in decay at the time of the suppression of the said Howse and monastery of Beawchief, and that since that time the same have [grown worse], more and more in decay and ruin, and that the cause of the ruin and decay thereof was by reason of the great force, vehemence, and violence of wind and weather; and they also say that the cause of the decay of the glass of the other windows of the said chauncell was by reason that crowes and other vermyne have and do daily use and hunt [? haunt] the said chauncell, for that the said great window is now so in decay.

“Item, they say that the said parsonage house is in great ruin and decay, as well in the timber as also in the walls, by reason that the same hath not been inhabited by the space of three score years, nor no reparacons by all that time made thereof; and, as they think in their conscience, the reparacons thereof will cost in the whole a hundreth markes, and that the decay thereof hath been by reason of the lacke and want of slaite for the . . . thereof; but by whos default the said chauncell and parsonage was and be in decay they know not.

“Item, they say to their knowledge there is nor hath not bene heretofore any tymbre, stone, yrone, glasse, leade, or other thinge takene or purloyned frome the said chauncell or parsonage howse to their knowledge.

“Item, further, we the said Commissioners have particularly examined the said persons before remembered, being parishioners and inhabitors of the said parishe of Dronfeld . . . what labors and carriage they will bestow towards the reparac'on of the premisses, who have promissed and undertaken at their owen propre costes and charges towards (?) . . . all the stone, leade, and other things necessarie for the reparac'one of the said chauncell.

“And we the said Commissioners do certefye also unto the Barons of the Court of the Eschequer of our gracyous Sovereign Lady the Quene's Majestie, that we the said Commissyoners,

callynge to us, as well certene fremasons, as also other skylfull and connynge artyficers by us examyned yn this behalfe, have with all dylygence and circumspectyon surveyed and vewed the said chauncell and parsonage howse aforesaid; and we thynke and judge in our conscience that the verdict and presentment of the persons before remembered, towching the present ruynes and decay of the premisses is in all thinges good and trewe, and that suche and so much wood, tymber, bord, lead, stone, glasse, and irone, and [skores of slates], before specified, will suffice for the reparac'on of the premisses. And we lykewyse thynk in our conscience that no lesse nor smaller nombre or value of tymbre, lead, stone, glasse, iron, and [slates], before remembered, will suffice for the reparac'on of the said chauncell and parsonage house."

"PETER [TREAVILL.]"

"GEORGE BARLEY."

"*Per me* EDMUNDE STEPHENSON."

It will have been noticed that the document creating the vicarage, given at p. 116, declares that the monastery shall bear the "expense of repairing or building the chancel when it shall be necessary" so far as such expense should be borne by the rector. The monastery was also to build a vicarage at its own cost. Now, comparing this document with the return made to Elizabeth's Commissioners, 135 years after, we find that the "great window and roof of the said chancel were in decay at the time of the suppression of the said house;" and we are told, further, that the parsonage had not been inhabited for 60 years. So that between the years 1505 and 1536, when the monastery was dissolved, the vicarage was uninhabited, and the chancel during all or some of that period in decay. The building of the fine chancel of this church has generally been attributed to the canons of Beauchief, but it is clear they did not build it, for they only acquired the benefice in 1399, and in 1401 it was so much in decay as to require a special provision for its repair, (*reparatio sive constructio cancelli cum opus fuerit*). To what cause then shall we assign the "permissive waste,"—to use a lawyer's

phrase—of these buildings? We must attribute it to the same cause which led the canons to appropriate the rectory itself, viz., the aggrandizement of their own house to the neglect of the benefice they had acquired. The author of the *Admonition to Parliament*, a book written a few years (1572) later than the Dronfield Return, says, the churches were “defiled with rain and weather, with dung of doves and owls, stares and choughs, and other filthiness, as it is foul and lamentable to behold in many places of this country. It is not the house of talking, of walking, of brawling, of minstrelsy, of hawks, of dogs.”¹⁶ The supineness of the religious orders, during the century preceding their dissolution, and the neglect from which they suffered during the wars of the Roses, the licensed iconoclasm of Henry VIII’s time, the horrors of the Inquisition, with the destructive reaction which followed it, have all contributed their share to the mutilation of the fairest works of Christian art in this country.

In the present Elizabethan east window of the chancel may still be seen a motley patch-work of stained glass, the *disjecta membra* of prophets and apostles, whose effigies once adorned the various windows of the church.¹⁷

Roger de Bakewell, who was rector before 1346, appears to have left his benefice and retired to the Carmelites at Doncaster, for, by his will, which is yet extant, he speaks of himself as formerly rector of Dronfield, and bequeaths most of his wealth to the Carmelites at Doncaster. It is not improbable that he practised physic, for his will contains a bequest of his pestle and mortar.¹⁸

In 1490, we find the monastery bargaining with Christopher Haslam, the chaplain, who was then living at Dronfield, respecting the education of the choristers and novices. Haslam was to teach such

¹⁶ Pp. 245, 246.

¹⁷ The names of three of the Apostles, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. James, the patron saint of the church, may still be seen in one of the south windows of the chancel, where are also some representations of men and women playing on the organ, violin, and some other musical instrument, the height of which makes it difficult to be seen.

¹⁸ *Test. Elor.* (Surtees Society), i., 82.

"boys or novices" as the abbot and convent required, in singing and grammar (*in cantu et gramatica*). His salary was to be 26s. 8d. a year, with sufficient meat and drink, and a decent chamber (*decens camera*) in the monastery.¹⁹ He became the first Protestant vicar.²⁰

NORTON.

The Domesday book contains no mention of a church here, but the founder, in 1183, conferred the church upon the monastery, and from that time to the dissolution, the divine offices were performed by one of the regular canons. The officiating canon resided permanently at Norton; indeed we learn that John Sheffield, who was afterwards made abbot, was sworn to residence there.²¹ I shall offer no conjecture as to the age of the present building, but it is apparent that the font (which is early Norman and deserves the attention of the antiquary) and some parts of the interior are of greater age than the exterior walls. The inside of the church has been completely modernized, and, except a richly-carved and formerly painted monument, erected by Bishop Blythe, a native of this village, in memory of his parents, there is little or nothing left of its more ancient decorations.²² The Blythe chapel, doubtless, has once been a spot of no little beauty. The imaginative eye can picture, to some extent, the rich adornment of its windows, the painting which may yet be concealed beneath the whitewash on its walls, and the altar before

¹⁹ Deed at Beauchief. This deed appears to have been a draft, "settled"—to use a legal phrase—by a notary or skilled conveyancer. The skill is shown by such trivial alterations as "*Beati Thomæ*" into "*Sancti Thomæ*," in a different ink. It is indorsed *Reverendissimo in Christo patri J: abbate de Bello Capite*. So it appears that the canons were not their own lawyers. In a later hand is indorsed "The abot grants rent, &c., to teach boyes to sing."

²⁰ Register at Dronfield. Haslam died in January, 1570. (Register.)

²¹ Pegge, 72. Deed formerly at Beauchief.

²² The building, however, has escaped hitherto the destructive hand of the so-called restorer, and is the very perfection of a quiet and pleasing country church. I cannot here refrain from expressing the hope that it may continue to remain uninjured by that tasteless and too prevalent officiousness, which, under the false and specious name of restoration, has done more to impair the historic interest and many-aged beauties of English churches than all the ravages of time.

which the officiating priest was wont to say daily mass for the weal of the departed bishop and his progenitors.

I have perused a number of ancient charters which are now deposited at the vicarage, and though some of them are of much value for the purposes of parochial history, they do not come within the scope of these pages. One of them, nevertheless, which concerns my subject, and is of great interest, is here inserted.

[1523.]

“This Indentr., made the iij. dey of Nov’b’, in the yere of owr Lord mccccxxiiij., bytween John, th’ abbot of the monast’ye of Sent Thom’s the m’ter of Beaucheff, of ye dioces’ of Cove’tre and Lich’, and the co’veut of ye same place, of th’ on’ p’tye, and S’. Thom’s Gylbart, channo’ of ye foresed monast’ye, vic’ and curate of the p’ich chirch of Norto’ of th’dre p’tye, beyryth wittenesse, yt it ys cov’nte’ and agred bytwyn ye seid p’tyes (wt ye co’sent and assent of ye Most Rev’end Fadr. in God Geferey by ye g’ce of God bysshope of Cove’tre and Lich’) that ther shalbe a stok of ten kye p’petually upholdon at ye vicaredge of Norto’ aforeseid, to ye use and behowfe of ye seid vicar, now beying incu’bent, and to hys successors for ev’more, in man’ and forme foloyng (yt ys to sey) yt ye said vic’, now being incu’bent, shall by x kye wt. ye some of x marks, afore ye invencion of ye Holy Crose next insuyng ye date of thes p’sents, ye which x marks ye seid vic’ hath reseyyd of ye foreseid rev’end fadr. in God for a c’ten grond (yt ys to sey) a lyttyl crofft, on ye west syde of Norto’ Grene, uppon ye whych grond ye forsed father in God, bysshope of Cov’etre and Lich’, hath byldit and edifyed a chantry howse, to ye hownor of Gode, and to ye gret profect²³ and welth of ye foresed chyrch of Norto’, for ever. And because it shall be no p’judich²⁴ to ye sed vic’, ne to hys successors, but a gret utilite and increme’t, hyt ys cov’ted and agred, by ye co’sent of both p’tyes aforsed, yt ye sed x kye shal be at ye dysposicion and orduryng of ye seid vic’, and of hys successors, for ever, (yt ys to sey) wheddr.

²³ Profit.

²⁴ Prejudice.

they wyll hold them thesself, or put them to hyre, or to thalves²⁵ to ther most propheet, so yt ye stoke of ye forsed x kye decrease (?) not. And yf it happen yt any of ye seid kye to (*sic*) dye, or yt ye said vicar or hys successors do feede, or selle any of ye foresed kye, yt. then ye said vic', and hys successors, shall by anodr. kow or kye, wt.in xiii. weks next aft' ye fedyng, sellyng, or dyeyng, of ye sed kow or kye. And yf ye sed vic' or hys successors be nedligent, and by not anod' kow, or as many as be wanty'g of ye nowmbr. of ye x kye aforesed, wt.in ye space aforesed, then yt shal be lefull²⁶ to ye sed abbot and con' et, and to ther successors, to wt.hold the corrodye²⁷ yt belongyth unto ye sed vic', and to hys successors (yt ys to say) wekly ix gallons of aalle²⁸ and ix keyst²⁹ of bred, ye whych foresed aalle and bred ys acreysyd³⁰ to xiiid. a weke unto ye p'ce of

²⁵ "To halves," that is the person who kept the cows was to receive half the milk as his remuneration for keeping them.

²⁶ Lawful.

²⁷ An allowance for a religious house (*corrodium*).

²⁸ "Aale" for "ale" occurs in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, ii., 445. So Tennyson:—

"I've 'ed my point o' yaale ivry noight sin I beān 'ere,
An' I've 'ed my quart ivry market noight for foorty year."—*Northern Farmer*.

²⁹ "Keyst." *Quare*.

³⁰ The first letter of this word is doubtful. It appears to be "accreased," *i.e.*, increased. I can vouch for the accuracy of the transcript, but the whole passage is obscure, the sentence having apparently no apodosis. The meaning, however, would appear to be that the allowance of ale and bread had been commuted into the weekly payment of 14d. a week, and that the money was to be withheld, whenever there should be a deficiency in the number of cows, until enough had been accumulated to buy as many as might be wanting. The quantity of ale (468 gallons a year) supplied by the monastery to a celibate vicar was very large. We have seen (*ante*) that the canons were accustomed to imbibe so much liquor that they could not keep awake at midnight mass. Ale, in those days, appears to have been considered quite as much "the staff of life" as bread.

"Back and side go bare, go bare,
Both foot and hand grow cold;
But, belly, God send thee ale enough,
Whether it be new or old."—Bishop Still: *Gammer Gorton*.

Amongst Lord Leconsfield's MSS. is a grant by the Prior and Convent of Ely to their bailiff of a corrody for life. The bailiff was to receive every day (amongst other things) two Knights' loaves, one white and the other black, and two gallons of ale, one good and one common, from the cellarer. He was also to receive one help of flesh, &c., from the prior's larder. (*Sixth Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 290). It is evident from the other articles supplied, that the ale was intended solely for the bailiff. So, here, it was for the Vicar's private consumption.

a kow or too, or of as many as be deed or fede, or by any odr. wey made away, and be laking of ye sed nowmbr, be leyved of ye same bred and aalle aftr. ye kow or kye ben sold at yt tyme, and then yt money to be waryd³¹ oppon a kow or too, or on as many as do lake, and then ye said kow or kye to be delyv'yd to ye sed vic', or to hys successors, to ye upholdy'g of ye said stoke. Also it ys cov'nte' and agreed betwen ye forsed pt'yes, yt ye sed x kye be markit wt ye bryn³² of ye sed monastrie of Beawchef, bycause yt they may be knowne from ye other kye or bests of ye sed vic', or of hys successors, for hit ys cov'nte' and agred yt, at ye dep'ty'g of ye sed vic', or any of hys successers, from ye forsed vicaredge, other³³ by deth, or resignac'on, or any other man' of weys, yt ye sed abbot and con'v't, then non of ther successors, shall have no int'est of ye sed stoke of x kye, but only yt they see yt ye x kye be keppit and upholden unto ye use and behoofe of ye vic' yt next shall succede, aftr. ye manr. abovsed, as oft as hit happenyth. Also hit ys cov'nt'd and agreed yt ye sed abbot and con'ent and their successors, or ther depute in ther name, shall see onys in ye yere, ev'y yere, (yt ys to sey) at the Fest of ye Invencion of ye Holy Crosse³⁴ all ye kye togedde', yt non of them do lake, and yf any of ye sed nowmbr do lake, then they to be restoryd agen, aftr ye manr. and forme abovsed. And yt all thes cov'n'ts and articles may well and truly be keppit on both p'tyes, to ye on' p'tye of thes indentrs (remeyny'g wt ye sed vicar and his succesors) ye forsed abbot and co'vent have sette yr co'men seall, and to ye other p'tye (remeyny'g wt. ye said abbot and co'vent) ye said vicar hath sette hys seall, and, for ye more stedfastness of all thes forsed articles above writen to be had and keppyd trewly, ye forsed rev'end fad' in God, Byshope of Cove'tre and Lich', to eyther p'tye of this indent' hath putte hys seal. Gyffyn ye day and yere (*The rest of the parchment and the seals are cut off.*)

³¹ Expended.

³² Marked with the brand.

³³ "Other" is still the vulgar pronounciation for "either."

³⁴ 3rd of May.

ALFRETON, WYMESWOLD, AND EDWALTON.


These three churches were conferred on the monastery by the founder, as we have already seen. Both Edwalton and Dronfield appear to have passed out of the convent's hands before the dissolution of monasteries. I know of nothing concerning any of these places which has not already been told to the world. I would notice, however, that the monastery appears to have kept up a close connection with Wymeswold, though it lay at a considerable distance in Leicestershire. A careful analysis of the necrology will show that inhabitants of this place and its neighbourhood are frequently commemorated, and the reason may be that it was, at all events in 1291,³⁵ the wealthiest benefice in the bestowal of the monastery. It was given by Henry VIII. to his new foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge. Edwalton, about three miles from Nottingham, and dedicated to the Holy Rood, is now in private patronage.

³⁵ Pegge, 88.



CHAPTER VIII.

Buildings of the monastery destroyed—Their probable sites—Dryburgh Abbey—Tombs in the choir, &c.—Number of regular canons usually resident in the house—The lay-brothers and their employments—Class of persons admitted to profession—Gifts commonly made on profession—State of learning in the monastery—The “chapel-yard” or great quadrangle—Dissolution of the house—Its yearly income—How its estates were divided—Inventory of household goods at the Dissolution—List of vestments—Copes of red silk, embroidered with figures of peacocks, &c.—The infirmary—The grange in the park, &c.

F the buildings of the abbey little can be said, for scarce one stone has been left upon another. The ivy-mantled tower, and the two archways on either side of it, which, with questionable taste, have been removed thither from their ancient positions, are the only remnants of a monastery which was once so beautiful as to lead a visitor to exclaim with the prophet, “Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house.” The small chapel, adjoining the tower, in which the service of the Church of England is now performed, was no part of the monastery, but was built there about 100 years after its destruction. I shall not enter into conjectures or speculations concerning the probable site of the refectory, chapter-house, and other principal buildings. Nevertheless the monasteries of the different orders were usually built according to some common plan, the architecture varying in simplicity or profusion of decoration according to the comparative laxity or strictness of the several rules. The tourist who has visited Dryburgh, the burial-place of Sir Walter Scott, will there have seen the most perfect remains—as far as my knowledge extends—of a Premonstratensian abbey in Great Britain. This was the abbey which, doubtless, the great novelist had in his mind’s eye when he depicted the house of St. Mary in his *Monastery* and *Abbot*, and from which it would be possible to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the positions of the various buildings at Beauchief. Nothing, hitherto, has been done

in the way of excavation, but when the work is undertaken, as some day it is sure to be, the buildings will be found to have been much more extensive than, perhaps, it is commonly supposed. The records contained in this volume will be found to mention the refectory, chapter-house, gate-house, abbot's lodging, and many other buildings, the exact position and extent of which would not be difficult to ascertain. The tombs of the Chaworths, the Furnivalls, and other great families in the choir, and of the abbots in the chapter-house would be easily pointed out.

The visitations given in chapter vi. contain lists of the regular canons, extending over a period of nearly 30 years, when the house was, at average intervals of about a year, visited either by the vigilant bishop Redmayne, or the abbot of Welbeck, and we shall find, on comparing them, that its usual complement was an abbot and 12 canons, that number being usually adopted in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. The list at page 91 shows an abbot and 12 canons, and that at page 94 an abbot and 14 canons. We must remember, however, that three of these canons were beneficed at Norton, Wymeswold, and Alfreton, though they would be compelled even there, as far as possible, to follow their rule. In addition to the regular canons were the lay-brothers (*conversi*), who were usually employed at the granges, or monastic farms, and in various handicrafts useful to the community. Many of these lay-brothers, as we have seen, are commemorated in the necrology, though it is probable that most of them paid, when attaching themselves to the monastery, for the entry of their names in that book. The lay-brothers were, in fact, the upper servants of the monastery, its farm-bailiffs, stewards, carpenters, masons, tanners, &c. A visitation of bishop Redmayne mentions a chantry of eight priests.¹ When we consider that besides 12 or 15 regular canons, there would probably be as many or more lay-brothers all living within the walls of the house, beside menial servants, we shall be able to form some idea of its extent.

¹ See p. 92.

We may learn from the necrology that the members of the convent were, in a great measure, natives of the neighbourhood, the lay-brothers being persons of humble extraction and small means, and the regular canons persons of much higher position. There can be no doubt that many of the canons, such as the founder, Ralph Musard, &c., entered the monastery late in life, though they would be obliged to pass through the usual noviciate. Others, again, such as John de Chaworth (Aug. 3), were members of wealthy families who were or had been benefactors to the community. Many of these made valuable presents when entering upon their noviciate. Thus a canon who came from Sheffield gave a vestment which cost the large sum of £20, and Prior Robert de Edensor bought the great bell, and, at his own expense, built the great belfry. These gifts must have been made before profession, for the rules required that none should possess more than 21s., and the vow of poverty had to be taken. Moreover, gifts of small estates would be not unlike the purchase of annuities, for they would enable the donors to spend the remaining years of their lives in peace and comfort within the walls of the monastery, whilst at the same time, such gifts would far more than compensate the monastery for the cost of supporting an additional inmate. Assistant brothers (*fratres ad succurendum*) usually made some present, as, *e.g.*, John Ashby, the last rector of Dronfield, gave £20 for the prayers of the community.

Owing to the paucity of records which have come down to us, or which, as I should rather say, have yet been made public, we cannot form any good idea of the state of learning in the monastery. There cannot be the least doubt, however, that most of the canons were well skilled in Latin. Swift's letter (p.77) shows an acquaintance with Latin versification and the learning of the Common Law. Many of the canons, doubtless, graduated at the universities. I imagine—though I write with some diffidence—that Edmund Furness and Robert Boland, the licentiates mentioned in Visitation xiii., were graduates. We have seen that Christopher Haslam, choir-master, taught the novices singing and grammar, and it is pro-

bable that there always were one or two canons, resident in the house, who had taken degrees at Oxford, Paris, or Cambridge.

Abbot Greenwood, or Sheffield, as he is usually called, from the place of his birth, surrendered the monastery into the King's hands, on the 4th Feb., 1536, "without giving any trouble or opposition."² He is commemorated in the necrology on the 31st April, and is there stated to have died in 1536. He may be said, therefore, to have died with the fall of his house.

At the dissolution, the income of the monastery, according to Dugdale, amounted to £126. 3s. 4d., though according to Speed it amounted to £157. 10s. 2d. At all events, its income was under £200, and it therefore fell with the lesser religious houses. The site of the abbey, with the park, and 260 acres were granted to Sir Nicholas Strelley, with whose descendants they still remain. Sir Nicholas also received the grange of Strawberry Lee. "Alfreton," says Dr. Pegge, "went to Sir Francis Leake; Fulwood to Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as likewise did certain lands in Sheffield. Edwalton to the family of Cavendish; Harewood Grange to Leake of Sutton, Walton to Foljambe, and what the convent had at Chesterfield, Brampton, &c., by several steps came to his Grace the Duke of Portland." The estates at Eckington, Dronfield, and Newbould, went to the Fanshaves of Dronfield; and Sir William West had a grant of lands in the parish of Staveley, in the hamlets of Woodseats, Greenhill, "Little Lees," Woodseats, and Little Norton.

An inquisition, taken 14th James I., mentions, amongst other fields and closes, the "Chapple-yard." This I take to be the great quadrangle of the monastery.

I here insert an inventory of goods taken at the dissolution, which I take from Pegge's appendix. I have, however, re-written the foot-notes.

² Pegge, 202.

BEACHEFF.

The inventory³ made their the ij. day of August, the xxviij. yere of the reigne of King Henry the viijth.

In primis, viij. corps,⁴ wt. their Kercheis.

It'm a cross coper and gilt.

It'm a crosse of wode gylte.

It'm a sute of vestments, blewe, and bordered wt. rede velvett.

It'm a sute of vestments of red sylke, and bortheyd gold.

It'm a sute of vestements of grene sylke.

It'm a sute of bawedekyn.⁵

It'm a sute of bawdekyn, chekkyd, wt. oute a cope.

It'm a sute of vestments of sylke, brotheryd⁶ with peycocks, and no cope.

It'm a sute of vestements, blewe and rede, of silke and no cope.

It'm a sute of vestements of black clothe,⁷ olde and rente, and no cope.

It'm v. olde vestements sore worne.

It'm ij. old copes, sore worne.

It'm a rede cope, brotheryd with greene.

It'm ij. chantr. cops⁸ of old vustian.

³ Dr. Pegge says that Abbot Sheffield surrendered the house on the 4th Feb., 1536. I do not know what his authority is. The inventory is dated more than two years after this.

⁴ *Corporas cloths*. The term *corporas*, *corporalis palla*, denotes a consecrated linen cloth, folded and placed upon the altar in the service of the mass, beneath the sacred elements. Its symbolical import, allusive to the fine linen in which the body of Christ was wrapped, is fully explained by Durandus. Every church was obliged to have two of these cloths, *duo corporalia cum repositoriis*. The *repositorium*, or case wherein the corporas was enclosed when not in use, was richly embroidered or adorned with precious stones. It was termed likewise *theca*, *capsa*, or *bursa corporalium* (Way's *Promptorium*, Camden Soc.) The "kerchiefs" are here the embroidered cases.

⁵ *Baldekin*, or *baudekin*, was a rich cloth of silk and gold, so called because it was said to have been originally made at Baldak or Babylon.

⁶ "Bordered."

⁷ Dr. Pegge thinks these were for funerals, or other mournful occasions.

⁸ Copes for the *precentor* or *sub-cantor*.

It'm ij. cops bawdekyn.

It'm auther cloths xv.⁹

It'm fore-fronts for the aulters v.

It'm a p' of organnes.¹⁰

It'm a crosse, cop' and gylte.

It'm a lyttle crosse of cop'.

It'm a *sensing*¹¹ of cop' and gylt (sensure, *sic*).

It'm a p' of sensinges of latin.¹²

It'm a holy watt'¹³ pot of latten.

It'm iiij. pair of crewetts¹⁴ of pewter.

It'm ij. standers¹⁵ of latten standing byfore the highe alter.

It'm ij. small candyllstycks of latten.

It'm ij. longe candyllstycks of irone.

⁹ Coverings for the altars. We have mentioned the altars of the Holy Cross, St. Katherine, St. John Baptist, &c.

¹⁰ A pair of Regals or Rigols. This does not mean that there were two organs. I suppose the word *pair* must be taken as referring to the bellows. This was a hand organ, or portable organ. A picture of one of these hand organs, or dulcimers, taken from Royal ms. 14, E. iii., is engraved in Knight's History of England, i, 863. The organist is represented as holding it over his shoulder with his right hand, and playing it with his left. There is a representation of one on the crozier of William of Wykeham, preserved in New College, Oxford, which I have seen. At the sale of the goods of Bardsley Abbey "an olde payre of portatyffes organs" was sold for two shillings. (Wright's Letters on the Suppression of Monasteries. *Camden Soc.*) The compass of these organs probably did not exceed a dozen or fifteen notes, enough to accompany the plain chant. Christopher Haslam, afterwards vicar of Dronfield, was choir-master about this time (*ante*), so this would be the organ he played upon. Some curious musical instruments are depicted in the stained glass in Dronfield church.

¹¹ Censers for incense.

¹² *Latten*, a hard mixed metal, much resembling brass, was largely used in former times, especially in the formation of sepulchral monuments. The precise nature of its composition does not appear to have been accurately ascertained. It is repeatedly mentioned as a metal of bright and golden colour. Chaucer uses the expression "Phœbus hewed like latoun."—(*Prompt. Parvulorum.*)

¹³ *Watter*, the common pronunciation for water now.

¹⁴ The vessel which contained wine and water for the service of the altar. They were always in pairs, the one for water the other for wine.

¹⁵ Standards, or large candlesticks.

THE HALL.

It'm bords iij., forms iij., tressyls vj.¹⁶

THE BUTTRYE.

It'm borde-cloths iij.,¹⁷ napkins vj., salts of stone iij., arkis¹⁸ iij., skeppe j.¹⁹

It'm j. basket, viij. lomys,²⁰ iiij candylstyks of lattene.

THE KYTTCHYN.

It'm count'fetts²¹ xx., sawcers x., small platters v., grete platters xvijj.

It'm small potts vj., grete potts ij., pannys iij., spytes iiij., Kymnells iij.,²² potchoks iij., on' rekynthe, and ij. cobberts.²³

THE BAKEHWSSE.

It'm ij. grete leds, on' small leyd (*sic*) worte-ledys,²⁴ grete fats iij., sois iij., kyttis ij., scopes ij., troughiz iij., one temis-seve.²⁵

¹⁶ The "bords" are the top of the table, and the trestles its three-footed movable supporters. One of the forms would be for the top of the table, and the other two for the sides.

¹⁷ Table cloths.

¹⁸ Chests to put meal in. Old oaken chests formerly used for that purpose, but now generally used for the stowing away of blankets, &c., are often to be met with in farm houses.

¹⁹ *Skeffe*, a basket to hold the broken meat intended for the poor.

²⁰ A household utensil. It seems to be some kind of vessel in Hollinshed Hist. of Eng., i., 194. Relig. Antiq., i., 54. Loom, any utensil, as a tub. *Grosce*, still in use (Halliwell).

²¹ Imitation crockery was known as *counterfeits* (Halliwell). In Cheshire, according to Bailey, counterfeits are porringers, as most likely they are here. In the Bury Wills (*Camden Soc.*) is a bequest of "halff a garnyssh of counterfete pewt. vessell," *i.e.*, half a dozen pewter vessels, a *garnish* being a service of twelve dishes, saucers, &c.

²² *Kymelyne*, a cooling vessel. *Prompt Parv.* "Greasy Joan doth *kele* the pot."—*Shakespeare*.

²³ *Rekynthe*, according to Pegge means "a range." The word is not in Halliwell. *Cobberts* are cob-irons, the irons by which the spit is supported.

²⁴ These were used for cooling the liquor in brewing.

²⁵ "Fats," *i.e.*, vats; "sois" and "kyttis," *i.e.*, pails; "scopes," *i.e.*, scoops; "troughiz," *i.e.*, kneading troughs; temis-sieve, a sieve, temis being itself a sieve.

THE ABBOT'S CHAMBRE.

It'm the hanging about the chambre of rede say,²⁶ j. fetherbede,
ij. matrees, iij. blanketts, iiij. shetts, iij. cov'letts, on' cov'nge. ²⁷

It'm the hangynge about the bede, of saye, redde and yowlowe;
iij. cheires, iiij. arks.

It'm a bauker,²⁷ one grete borde,²⁸ and on' small, and on'
basonne, on' lav' and one ewer.

IN ROG. EYRE'S CHAMBRE.

It'm cov'letts vj., blanketts iij., matrees iij., shetts iiij., bolsters iiij.

GRENE LEYFF CHAMBRE.²⁹

It'm on' fetherbede, ij. fustian blankets, j. cov'lett, shetts ij.,
on' cov'yng.

It'm ij. bolsters, courtens aboute the bede, on' table, iij. formis.

It'm on' chair, on' cupborde.

THE CHAPELL CHAMBRE.

It'm ij. mattrees, iiij. shetts, on' blankett, iij. cov'letts, on' olde
cov'yng.

It'm ij. pyllows, and ij. bedstedds.

IN THE GATE HOUS CHAMBRE.

It'm on' matteres, iij. cov'letts, iij. shetts, j. blankett, on' bolster.

IN THE SEKMAN CHAMBRE.³⁰

It'm on' materes, ij. shetts, ij. cov'letts, ij. cov'yngs, ij. bedstedds.

²⁶ The chamber was tapestried with red say, a delicate serge or woollen cloth.

²⁷ According to Pegge, *bauker* is a bason or laver. Qu? Halliwell does not give it.

²⁸ *I.e.*, a table.

²⁹ "The Green Leaf Chamber," probably so called from the way in which its walls were decorated. But see *ante*, p. 58.

³⁰ The Sickman Chamber, or Infirmary. It was usual for monks, in chronic infirmities, to spend their declining days in the infirmary. The house was bound to provide medical assistance for the sick. Here, too, it was customary for monks to retire and be bled, after eating too much meat.—See a most interesting account of infirmaries in Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*, vol. ii., pp. 151-161.

PLATE.

Fyrste, a chalyce of silv' p'cell gylte, wt. the patente,³¹ weying xix. ōz.

It'm another chalyce of silv', with the patente, parcell³² gylte, xv. oz.

It'm another chalyc of silv', wt. the patente, parcell gylte, xi. oz. dim'.

It'm another chalis, wt. the patente, parcell gylte, viiij. oz. dim'.

It'm a salte,³³ wt. a cover, parcell gylte, xviii. oz.

It'm a doz' of small silv' sponys, xi. oz.

It'm on' small pounced³⁴ goblett of sylv', iij. oz.

It'm ij. small things of silv', to put relicks³⁵ in, weing j. oz.

It'm an old macer bande, weing iij. oz. di'.

CATELL, WT. NECESSARIES TO HUSBANDRY BELONGING.

It'm xij. oxen, xiiij. kyene, ij. bulls, yonge beste xvij.

In ewes, hoggs, and other, vj. score.

It'm ij. horss, on' mare, ij. corne-waynes,³⁶ iij. donge-carts, iij. plowes, ij. wt. irons.

It'm on' slede,³⁷ vj. yoks, ij. coppe-yoks,³⁸ xx. swyne.

³¹ The patent was a small dish made to fit on the top of the chalice. It was used in the celebration of the Eucharist.

³² *I.e.*, partly.

³³ Ancient salt-cellars were generally of a large size.

³⁴ Embossed.

³⁵ The abbey being dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, these may have contained some relic of him. John Ap Rice, in a letter to Cromwell when engaged in the business of dissolution, says:—"Amongst the reliques we founde moche vanitie and superstition, as the coles that Saint Lawrence was tosted withall, the paring of S. Edmund's naylles, St. Thomas of Canterbury penneknyff and his bootes, and divers skulles for the headache, pieces of the holie cross able to make a holc crosse of, other reliques for rayne, and certain other superstitious usages for avoiding of wedes growing in corn," &c. (MS. Cotton. Cleop., E. iv., fol. 120).

³⁶ Corn waggons.

³⁷ Sledge.

³⁸ Pegge says coppe-yoks are to put on cows' horns. According to Halliwell, however, a cops is the connecting crook of a harrow. If this be so, "yoks" are harrows.

HOUSEHOLD STUFF AT THE GRANGE.

It'm on' materes, ij. shets, ij. blanketts, ij. cov'letts, onn olde cov'ynges.

It'm iij. grete pannys and ij. small, ij. potts, ij. almeris,³⁹ v. mylke-kytts.

It'm a loome, iij. doblers,⁴⁰ ij. count'fetts, on' borde, ij. trestilles.

It'm a p' of woll-cards, a pair of combis, and a brand-iron.⁴¹

WILLM. BOLLES, rec'.

TH. COMBEZ, auditor.

³⁹ Almarie, a cupboard, a pantry, a safe. "Almery of mete kepynges, or a save for mete." (Prompt. Parvulorum.)

⁴⁰ Used in spinning.

⁴¹ For marking sheep.



APPENDIX A.

. See a facsimile of this document opposite the title-page.

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Thomas de Chaworth miles, dominus de Nortone et de Alfreitone, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum, nuper habita super hoc deliberacione pleniori, cartas, scripta, et munimenta donacionum, concessionum, et confirmacionum Deo et ecclesie Beati Thome Martiris de Bello Capite et religiosis viris abbati et conventui ibidem Deo servientibus de terris, tenementis, et advocacionibus ecclesiarum tam per me quam per antecessores meos factarum diligenter inspexerimus, et donaciones, concessiones, et confirmaciones predictas acceptaverimus, et per cartam meam eisdem abbati et conventui, et eorum successoribus, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam imp perpetuum tenendas confirmaverimus, cupiensque ad honorem Dei et pro salute anime mee et animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum predictas donaciones, concessiones, et confirmaciones taliter in puram elemosinam factas et concessas, absque redactione in servitutem aliqualem inviolabiliter observari, ut religiosi predicti devocius, tranquillius, et quietius divinis obsequiis absque mei vel heredum meorum fatigacione seu inquietacione vacare possint, gratiam facere uberiores, volo et concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod si contingat de cætero (quod absit!) prefatos abbatem et conventum aut eorum successores, seu eorum homines aut tenentes, vel eorum aliquem, erga me vel heredes meos seu homines et tenentes nostros quoscunque in aliquo delinquere, contemptus, delictum aliquid, transgressionem, sive personales sive reales fuerint, perpetrare, non propter hoc summoniantur, distringantur, aut attachientur ad respondendum inde michi, aut heredibus meis, seu hominibus aut tenentibus nostris in curiis nostris de Nortone et Alfreitone, seu alibi, sed inde fiant emende et correctiones apud ecclesiam de Norton, si in partibus illis, vel apud ecclesiam de

Alfreton, si in partibus illis, fiat aliqua hujusmodi transgressio, et non alibi, et hoc per visum et assensum proborum et legalium viro-
rum de consensu partium ad hoc electarum, sicut inter vicinum et
vicinum, et non alio modo. Et ego predictus Thomas et heredes
mei predictam libertatem sive concessionem prefatis abbati et con-
ventui et eorum successoribus pro se et hominibus ac tenentibus suis
utendam warandizabimus et defendemus impperpetuum. In cujus
rei, etc. His testibus Henrico de Braylesforde, Domino Rogero le
Brett, militibus, Wo. le Brett, Rogero Breton, Waltero de Uston,
Ad' Rerisby, et multis aliis.

APPENDIX B.

The following inventory was transcribed by Dr. Pegge from the
original at Beauchief Hall. He describes the parchment as being
"miserably defaced." I have inspected the document myself, but
now scarcely a word can be read. The notes are mine.

"Visus et status monaster' de Baucheff,¹ vicesimo primo die
mensis Novembris, anno Dni. mccc. nonagesimo-tertio, in die crea-
tionis d'ni² Joh'is Norton, electi in abbatem hujus monaster'

"Inprimis, de debit' hujus monaster' in tempore creationis ab-
batis predict' nichil oneratur, quia de captis numeratis³ et eciam
solutionibus antea debent huic monasterio recipienda, et ulterius
quoque solvenda; et hoc patet si inquiratur.

"In manerio et orreo apud Grangiam⁴ de Baucheff sufficient' et
melius solito instaurat' in singulis granis, ut in frumento, sigulo,⁵
ordiis, avenis et in pisis.⁶

¹ "*Baucheff*." It is evident from this spelling that the word was then pro-
nounced after the French fashion.

² The abbot was always called *Dominus*, the canons *fratres*.

³ *Captis numeratis*. It is impossible to do anything more than guess at the
meaning of this corrupt sentence. *Captis* should, I think, be *capsis*, *capsa* being a
box or coffer. In other respects the sentence defies emendation.

⁴ The Grange was where Beauchief Hall now stands, or very near it. Granges
were presided over by a housekeeper, called *hospitalis frater grangie*.

⁵ *Segula* in Du Cange.

⁶ "Pease." Green pease were used in Lent.

"In bestiis cornutis omnis generis de remanentibus⁷ ib'm. . . . vacce, boviculi, juvencule, ac alie bestie pingues, ad numerum xli., et ij. vacce, que abstracte fuerunt tempore vacationis.

"Oves, ut patet in weddriis, ewise, et hogg⁸ viii^{xx} xii.

"Equi et eque, cum sequelis, viii.

"It'm porci et porcelle xvii.

"It'm in jocalibus;⁹ sc. a standyng cup¹⁰ covert de argento, de adquisitione ipsius abbatis. It'm alius parvus siphus de argento non covert ut supra, de ejus adquisitione. It'm alius siphus, ex donatione vic' de Wymunsbold; et sex cocliaria, ex donatione predict' vic' Conventui. It'm cocliaria xii. de manspecia.¹¹ It'm duo salseria de argento. It'm maseres¹² vel siphii, quinque.

⁷ *Remanentes* appears to be opposed to *abstractæ*. It will be observed that this inventory was made in November, when the cows would be in the *vaccaria* or cow-house. It appears that the monks were not allowed to go to the cowhouse without the abbot's license. *Sine abbatis licentia exeuntes ad vaccariam, sive ad alium quemcumque locum deinceps apostatas decrevimus.*" (ms. quoted by Fosbrooke, ii., 206.)

⁸ "Hogg." One year old lambs.

⁹ *Jocalia* is the word used at p. 97, which I have there rendered jewels. It includes all kinds of valuables.

¹⁰ I think by this "standyng-cup" is meant the grace cup. "Within the door on the left hand (of the refectory) was an almery, where stood the grace-cup, out of which the monks, after grace, every day drank round the table; and another large one on the right, with smaller within, where stood the mazers, of which each monk had his peculiar one, and an ewer and bason, which served the sub-prior to wash his hands in at the table, of which he sat as chief." (Fosbrooke ii., 122.)

¹¹ What is this word? It is not in Du Cange.

¹² "Maseres." The maser, macer, or mazer (Lat. *acer*, Dutch *maeser*) was a drinking bowl, originally made of the maple wood, whence its name, which was afterwards applied to all bowls of the same form, or for the same purpose, of whatever material made. Those mentioned in the Bury wills are all of wood, with bands or bonds round the edge, of silver gilt. Two masers, one with a cover, are engraved in *Archæological Journal*, ii., 262 (Tymm's *Wills and Inventories*, Camden Society's Publications). In Sir Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, where Robert Bruce is speaking, we have—

"Bring here, he said, the mazers four,
My noble fathers loved of yore."

See also a note on *Mazers* in his *Poetical Works*, p. 488, edit. 1848. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (vol. iii., 288) says the mazer was a standing-cup, generally of wood of a quadrangular form, with a handle on each of the sides. The puzzle was how to drink out of it, which was done from the angles. A silver 'Maccdher' was presented to Lord Townshend when leaving Ireland, who puzzled many of his

"It'm fether bedes" ij., cum suis pertin'. It'm matres x. servientum.¹⁴

"It'm coverletts xix. It'm schets xvi. payre, cum aliis in lect'.

"It'm blankets v. payre. It'm coveryng quinque¹⁵ et un' cwylthe.

"It'm coquinar' et pistrinum¹⁶ sufficient' instaurat', ut patet in singulis utensiliis.

"It'm in oriis decimalibus apud Dronfeld et Wymunswold instauratio diversorum granorum dimiss' absque onere in proprias manus."

[Signed by the abbot and three canons, but not so as to be legible.]

APPENDIX C.

The following document, which I transcribe from the original, in the possession of the Rev. H. H. Pearson, will be of interest to some of the old families of Norton.

The Gills, Parkers, Linacres, Lees, still have their representatives there. The distinction between John Smith and "John of the Smithy" is rather curious. The document is in a very minute and faded handwriting. Some of the words cannot be read at all, and doubtful ones are put in italics.

English friends by placing it before them filled with claret. Uninitiated persons usually attempted to drink from the flat side, and poured the wine over their clothes." In Chaucer it is called a *maselyn* (Tale of Sir Thopas, 141.) In Spencer's *Shepherds' Calendar* (August, line 26,) is mentioned—

"A mazer ywrought of the maple warre
Wherein is enchased many a fayre sight
Of Beres and Tigres that make fiers warre;
And over them spread a goodly wild vine,
Entrailed with a wanton Yvie twine."

¹³ *Feather-beds*. Most likely for the abbot and prior.

¹⁴ *Servientes* here appears to mean the lay brothers who lived in the house, and were, in fact, its servants.

¹⁵ I take it that "coveryng" here means a carpet.

¹⁶ *Pistrinum* originally meant "a hand-mill." It afterwards came to mean "a bakery," and I think it is here intended to mean baking utensils.

NORTON.

[26TH HEN. VI.]

Visus *factus cu' cur'* legali Johannis Archiepiscopi Eboracensis et Cardinalis Anglie unius feoffatorum Thome Chawurth militis et aliorum *hominum qui* ibidem. Quinto decimo die Aprilis anno regis Henrici sexti vicesimo sexto quedam inquisicio specialis capta fuit apud Leghes in dominio de Norton, die et anno supradictis, super quandam p'presturam ibidem factam per sacramenta, viz. Thome Cook, Thome Fox, Thome Parker, Ade Gylle, Johannis Bate, Richardi Cartelege, Johannis de Smythi, Roberti Parker, Johannis Smyth, Johannis Wodehous, Johannis *Bawer*, Johannis de Lee, Johannis Gylle, Johannis Johannis Parker, Thome More, Johannis Shepley, Willielmi Linaker, Johannis Aleyn, Johannis Parker, et Willielmi Mawher, jurati et onerati super p'presturam predictam viz. cujusdam venelle, qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod ubi quedam lis et discordia nuper exorta fuit inter tenentes domini, videlicet inter quendam Willielmum Blyth, tenentem cujusdam Johannis Flesshever, et quendam Robertum Yorke tenentem abbatis de Bello Capite, apud Leghez, infra eundem dominium, pro quadam venella ibidem ab antiquo tempore usitata latitudinis decem pedarum, et per tempora longa cum quadam sepe obstusa et obstupata exist' et abuttat a co'e venella duce't' ad molendina et cetera loca ibidem versus orientem, que quidem venella antiqua ascendit inter gardinum predicti Johannis Flesshever ex parte occidentali, et *solmium* ipsius Johannis ex parte orientali, et sic recto in quandam venellam ducentem versus campum australem ad ecclesiam de Norton, et alias clausuras et terras ibidem jacentes, et quia juratores predicti invenerunt venellam predictam tam negligenter et improvide contra juris formam esse ita obstupatam et obstusam, et eciam cum quadam sepe inclusam, predicti juratores, secundum consciencias suas bene et fideliter gubernati, ordinaverunt, et pro finali judicio decreverunt et adjudicaverunt, quod antiqua venella predicta, prout perantea antiquo tempore fuit

usitata et ordinata, aperietur, et quod cepes predicta radicitus extirpetur, et cum quadam porta vocata Lydgate bene et competenter ordinaverunt necnon tempore congruo aperietur in aisiammentum omnium vicinorum ibidem comorancium et per venellam illam fima et omnia alia necessaria cariland' et recariand', cum libero ingressu et egressu secundum ordinacionem illam ibidem perpetuo duraturam. Sigillo Roberti Rasyn ad tunc senescali ibidem presentibus appenso. Datum ut supra.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE OPPOSITE.

1 and 3. Seal of Thomas de Chaworth, mutilated inscription :
SIGILLUM THOME DE CHAWORTHE. Inscription on the obverse
side illegible. Attached to a grant of Norton Mill, *pencs*
Revd. H. H. Pearson.

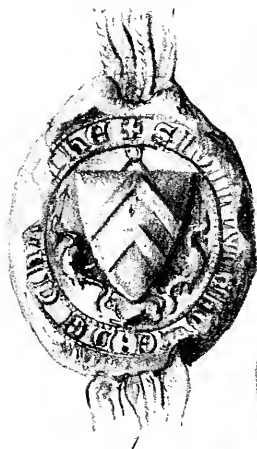
2. Smaller Seal of Thomas de Chaworth, attached to the quit-
claim, printed at p. 63.

4 and 6. Seals attached to a deed abstracted at p. 55, *note*. Qu.
Selioket or Baret?

5. Abbot's official seal. s: ABBATIS DE BELLO CAPITE.

7. SIGILL' ABBATIE DE BELLO CAPITE. Common Seal of the
Monastery (1), representing St. Thomas the Martyr and the
Blessed Virgin, with the figure of an abbot beneath.

8. SIGILLUM COMMUNE BEATI THOME MARTIRIS DE BEAUCHEF.
Common Seal of the Monastery (2); representing the murder
of St. Thomas. See page 12.





BEAUCHIEF ABBEY IN 1727.

FROM TWO OLD PRINTS.



INDEX RERUM.

Abbey, Premonstratensian, arrangement of, 134.
 Abbot, newly elected, carried to the Church, 99.
 " installation of, 99.
 Abbots, list of, 73.
 Accolites, 94, 109.
 Advocate, 26, 29, 32, 40, 41, 46, 50, 56.
 Advowson purchased, 116.
 Agricultural custom, curious, 66.
 Ale, quantity of, supplied to the Vicar of Norton,
 131.
 Almarie, 143.
 "Alleluia," how to be sung at Easter, 89.
 Altar-piece, 8, 11.
 Altar, high, 68.
 " of the Holy Cross, 22, 53.
 " of St. John Baptist, 24.
 " of St. Catherine, 24, 50.
 Altars, fore fronts for, 139.
 " cloths for, 139.
 " cruets for, 139.
 Amice, 97.
 Anniversary service, 30.
 Anthem, *Regina cæli lætare*, 89.
 Apostacy, 90, 94, 109.
 Appropriation of benefices, 116.
 Arbitration, early reference to, 65, 67.
 Arks, 140, 141.
Armiger, 28.
 Arms, recourse to by the canons, 109.
 Assistant brothers, 21.

Bacularius in decretis, 93, 100.
 Baking utensils, 147.
 Barns, 93.
 Bandekin, what, 133.
 Banker, 141.
 Beanchief, old pronunciation of, 145.
 "Beauty," applied to Saints, 12.
 Bed curtains, 141.
 Belfry, great, 39.
 Bell, great, tradition respecting, 39.
 Bells delivered to a new abbot, 85, 99.
Bellum Caput, 12.
 Blankets, 141.
 " fustian, 141.

Blythe chapel at Norton, 129.
 Board cloths, 140.
 Bolsters, 141.
 Books of Dronfield Church repaired by the monas-
 tery, 118.
 Brands for marking sheep, 132, 143.
 Bread and water, enjoined as a penance, 106.
 Buildings of the abbey, beauty of, 108.
 " " repairs of, 93, 103, 111.
 Buttery, 140.

 Candles, wax, 52.
 " " used at funerals, 120.
 Candlesticks of latten, 139.
 " " iron, 140.
 Canon law, Batchelor in, 93.
Canonicus, applied to the founder, 9.
Canonicus ad succurrendum, 21.
 Canons, regular, 20.
 " " names of, 94, 104, *et seq.*
 " " number of, usually resident, 135.
Capellanus, 17.
Caput Thomæ, 13.
Caretata, 55.
 Cattle, stock of, at the abbey, 106, 108, 146.
 "Causey," or causeway, 58.
 Cellarer, 91, 109, 112.
 " of Newhouse, attempt to kill, 97.
Cementarius, 45.
 Censers, 139.
 Chalices, silver, 40, 142.
 " golden, 40.
 Chamber, abbot's, 141.
 " Roger Eyre's, 141.
 " Green Leaf, 141.
 " Chapel, 141.
 " Gate house, 141.
 " Sickman, 141.
 Chancel of Dronfield church, repairs of, 123.
 " " " lead and glass for,
 123.
 Chairs, 141.
 Chanter, 91, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 Chantry, at Alfreton, 109.
 " " Dronfield, 119.

- Chantry, at Norton, 130.
 Chaplains, eight, attached to the abbey, 68, 92.
 Chapter house, 105, 110.
 "Chapel yard," 137.
 Charlocks, custom respecting, 66.
 Chartulary, 14, 17, and Preface.
Chef, Meaning of, 14.
 Chief rents, 121, 122.
 Choir, 68.
 Choir-master, 129.
 Churches attached to the abbey, 104.
 Cieary, what, 95.
 " how divided, 95.
 Creator, 91, 94, 97, 106, 109, 111, 112, 113.
 Clergy, secular, their retirement to monasteries, 60.
Clericus, meaning of, 17, 24, 29.
 Cloister, 92.
 Clothing of canons, cost of, 97.
 Coal-mining, early, 67.
 Collects, 95.
 Commemoration of benefactors, 30.
 Commendation, great, 21.
 " middle, 21.
Compromissarii, who, 98.
 Confessional pence, 118.
Conversi, who, 20.
 Contemplation, religious, 5.
 Conveyancing, fastidious, 129.
 Cook, 36, 48.
 Cooling vessels, 140.
 Copes, 97.
 " red embroidered with green, 138.
 " badly worn, 138.
 " of haudekin, 138.
 " of fusian, 138.
 Coppe-yoks, 142.
 Copper for the bakery, 57.
 Corn-waggons, 142.
 Corporas cloths, 138.
 Corrody, what, 131.
 Cottages for neatherds, 53.
 Counterfeits, 140, 143.
 Court Baron, 62, 64.
 " canons not to be sued in, 64.
 Coverlets, 141, 147.
 Cowl-hood, 5.
 Cows, stock of, maintained by vicar of Norton, 130.
 Cross of copper, 138, 139.
 " wood gilt, 138.
 " copper gilt, 139.
 Cross, golden, 40.
 Crows in Dronfield church, 126.
 Deacon, 94.
 Decrees of chapter, 110.
 Debts of the monastery, 89, 90, 93, 96, 107, 110, 112, 113, 114.
 Deeds, how kept, 97.
 Dinner hour, 105, 108.
 Discipline, laxity of, 73, 76, *et seq.*, 93.
 Disobedience, 111.
 Dissolution of the monastery, 137.
 Doblers, 143.
Dominus, how rendered, 29.
 Donats (*fratres donati*), 20.
 Donations to the abbey, 136.
 Dress of the canons, 5.
 Druidical grove, 35.
 Drunkenness in the monastery, 92.
 Dung carts, 142.
 Election of abbots, mode of, 84, 91, 98.
 Excommunication, greater, 83, 93.
 " " form of, 102.
 Father-abbot of Beauchief, 103.
 Feather beds, 141, 147.
 Fish ponds, 58.
 Forgery of letters, 102.
 Foundation of the abbey, date of, 14, 91.
 " deeds of, 14.
 Founder of the order, 40.
 " of Beauchief, a canon, 8.
 " meaning patron, 90.
 Fourpence, gift of, 55.
Fraternitas, what, 21, 36, 38, 48, 49, 50.
Fratres ad succurrendum, 21.
 Freemasons, 127.
 French ecclesiastics in England, 23.
Fundator, 27.
 Garden for vicar of Dronfield, 117.
 General chapter, reports to, 93.
 Gild at Dronfield, 119.
 " when founded, 119.
 " its rules, 119, 120.
 Goblet, embossed, 142.
 Gods, priests described as, 16.
Golda, meaning of, 66.
 " custom respecting, 66.
 Grain, supply of, 96.
 Grange in the park, 143, 145.
 Grange, 37, 35.
 " Birley, 60.
 Grenlyf Chamber, 58, 141.

- Habit of the canons, 5, 20, 21.
 "Halves" in cow-keeping, 131.
 "Head" of Becket, 11, 13.
 Holy water vessel, 139.
 Hospitality, 50.
 Hours, 49.
 Incontinence, 82, 83, 96, 111.
 " gross, 109.
 " removal to a distance for, 109.
 Infirmary, 141.
 Inventories, how made, 97.
 Jewels, where kept, 97.
 "Keyst" of bread, 131.
 Kymnells, 140.
 Lamp of the Virgin, 54.
 Latin versification, 78.
 Latten, what, 139.
 Lay brothers, 20, 114, 135.
 Lay sisters, 21.
 Lead, pigs of, 33, 55.
 " mine, probably belonging to the abbey, 33.
 Learning, state of, in the monastery, 136.
 " of Abbot Swift, 77, 99.
 Legacies, 118.
 Licentiates, 109, 111, 112.
 "Life of the Clerks," a book belonging to the abbey, 20.
Lectatus sum, to be sung daily in the mass, 95.
Logia, 53.
 Lydgate, a gate so called, 148.
 Manor, abbey, a, 62.
 Manual obedience, what, 85, 111.
 Manure, transportation of, 148.
 Mary Priest, 45.
 Masers, 146.
 Maser hand, 142.
 Mass for the dead, 20, 52.
 " of our Lady, 20, 42, 43.
 " of the Holy Spirit, 98.
 " for the living, 20, 24.
 Masses, different kinds of, 20.
 Matins, 92.
 Mattresses, 141, 147.
Medicus, 17.
 Merchant, 37.
 Merchet, or maiden rent, 62.
 Mill, Norton, restrictions as to, 16.
 " Ecclesall, 27.
 Miller of the monastery, 59.
 Mitre, 4.
 Monachism, claims of, 2.
Monachus, of Hucklow, 23.
 Money, quantity of, allowed to each canon, 107.
 " canons to give a yearly account of, 107.
Mora, 61.
Mortui Sæculo, 9.
 Music, 35, 52, 53.
 Napkins, 140.
Nativi, 62.
Necrologium, 20.
 Necrology, when read, 20.
 Norbertine Abbeys in England and Wales, table of, 18.
 Norton Green, 130.
Nota, 35.
 Notary public, 86.
 Novices, 3, 105, 128, 129.
 Oats, gift of, 43.
 Obituaries of Beauchief, larger and smaller, 20.
Olla, 57.
 Organs, 139.
 Ouche of Gold, 70.
 Osgang, 22.
 Parsonage at Dronfield, how to be erected, 117.
 " " ruin of, 114, *et seq.*
 Pasture, common, 29.
 Pater noster, 100 to be said by the lay brothers, 24.
 Pease, 145.
Pelliparius, 24.
 Penitence, 10 days, 114.
 " 40 days, 109.
 Pension assigned to a retiring abbot, 100.
Persona, 17.
 Pillows, 141.
 Pittance, 57, and *passim*.
 Placebo and Dirige, book so called, 70.
Plaustrata plumbi, 33.
 Porter (*portarius*), 25.
 Precincts of monastery, canons not to go beyond, 107.
Premonstratum, fanciful derivation of, 3.
 "Presidents" of the monastery, 95.
 Prior, 23, 24, 29, 35, 36, 57, 38, 40, 43, 45, 73, 76, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 Profession, when made, 3.
 " persons admitted to, 136.
 Psalm exxii. to be sung daily, 95.

- Psalms, how to be sung, 111.
 " penitential, 4.
 " fifty to be said by the clerks, 24.
 Rebellion of canons, 107, 109.
 Regular clergy, high pretensions of, 5.
 Refectory, 140.
 Relics, cases for, 142.
 Relief, 62.
 Repairs of Dronfield church, cost of, 125, 126.
 Requiem, mass of, 52.
 Revival, religious, 1.
 Road, obstructed, dispute respecting, 148.
 Rules of order, 3.
 Sacristan, 91, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 " has charge of valuables, 97.
 Salt cellars of stone, 140.
 " large, of silver, 140, 146.
 Say, abbot's chamber hung with, 141.
 " red and yellow, 141.
 Scapulary, 5, 21.
 Schools, none in the order, 4.
 Science, theological, to be taught in the monastery, 106.
 Seals of the abbey, 12, 150.
 Seal, common, how kept, 97.
 " abbot's official, 100, 150.
 Sellion, a measure of land, 16.
Sequela, 62.
 Sermon, extract from founder's, 5.
 Servant, abbot's, 97.
Servientes, 33.
 Sheep, pasture for two hundred, 63.
 Shoemakers, &c., received into monasteries, 24.
 Shows, common, canons not to frequent, 114.
 Sickman chamber, 141.
 Silence, claustral, 89, 95, 97.
 " neglect of, how punished, 106.
 Sites of abbeys, 13.
 Skeppes, 140.
 Slandering the abbot, 111.
 Sledge, 142.
Solempne servitium, 28, 42, 48.
Sorores ad succurrendum, 21.
 Spoons, 146.
 " silver, 30, 142.
 Stained glass at Dronfield, 128.
 Stalls, building of, 90, 96.
 Standing cup, 146.
 Steward, 33.
 Sub-cantor, 109, 111, 112.
 Sub-cellarer, 94, 105.
 Sub-sacristan, 112.
 Sub-prior, 25, 94, 106, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114.
 Summons, writs of, 101.
 Surnames renounced on profession, 37.
 Survey of Dronfield church, 123.
 Tallies, 74.
 Tanner, an assistant brother, 24.
 Taxes, heavy, 113.
Temis-seve, 140.
Terra, meaning of, 22.
 Thirteen, a number allusive to Christ and His twelve Apostles, 52, 135.
 Tithe barns, 147.
 Tombs in the church, 68.
 Tongue-land, 25.
 Tonsure, regulations respecting, 89, 90, 110.
 Trentals, 118.
 Trestles, 140, 143.
 Twenty well, corruption of Quintin well, 15, 49.
 Universities, canons graduates of, 136.
Venella, 148.
 Vespers of the Blessed Virgin, 89.
 Vestment, costing £20, 41.
 Vestments, 43.
 " of blue and red velvet, 138.
 " of red silk, embroidered with green, 138.
 " of green silk, 138.
 " of baudekin, 138.
 " of silk, embroidered with peacocks, 138.
 " of blue and red silk, 138.
 " of black cloth, 138.
 " badly worn, 138.
 " green, embroidered with gold, 57.
 Vicars, 94.
 " perpetual, 91, 104.
 " of appropriated churches, 116.
 " of Dronfield, income of, 117.
 " of Norton, 131.
 Vigils, 49, 52.
 Vows, monastic, 9.
 " of priests and lay brothers, 20.
 Wardships, 62.
 Wealth of the monastery, 74.
 Wheat given to the monastery, 36.
 " quantity of, consumed weekly, 106.
 Wool-cards, 143.
 Wort leads, 140.

INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES.

- Alan (or Aleyn) John, 148.
 " Robert, 55.
 Alba Landa, Adam, abbot of, 51.
 " William, abbot of, 56.
 Albinns, abbot of Darley, 15, 16.
 Aldefelde, 15.
 Aldwark, Roger de, 54, 57.
 Alfreton, 32, 40, 48, 56, 64, 65, 66, 67, 133, 137,
 144, 145.
 Alfreton, Roger de, 22.
 " Thomas de, 44.
 Alnwick, Patrick, abbot of, 36.
 " William, abbot of, 43.
 Amyas, William, 30.
 " Margaret, 30.
 Antwerp, Gerald, abbot of, 47.
 Appletoft, Robert de, 112.
 Arden, Richard, abbot of, 51.
 Arnesberg, Arnold, abbot of, 41.
 Arnesby, Galfrid de, 26.
 Arnstein Abbey, 54.
 Arras, Baldwin, abbot of, 45.
 " Godescalm, bishop of, 45.
 " James of, 57.
 Ashby, John, 54, 116.
 Ashover, Gervas de, 28.
 " Matilda de, 40.
 Ashton, or Aston, John, 84, 86, 87, 91, 94, 101,
 102, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 Ashton, Thomas, 96, 98.
 Aston, Matthew de, 15.
 Amberville, Wm. de, 47.
 Aylesbury, Sir Thomas, 57.
 Ayncourt, John de, 63, 64.

 Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, 26.
 Ball, Reginald, 109.
 " Roland, 25, 111, 112.
 Baltham, Richard de, 42.
 Balyfield, Thomas, 43.
 Bakewell, Roger de, 25, 123.
 " Matthew de, 49.
 Bardulph, Robert de, 40.
 Baret, Isabella, 55.
 " John, 55.

 Baret, Richard, 55.
 Bargau, Richard, 26.
 Barker, John, 124.
 " Robert, 124.
 Barley, *see* Barlow.
 Barlow, Alexander de, 30.
 " Edith de, 121.
 " Elia de, 121.
 " George, 124, 127.
 " Robert de, 121.
 " Roger de, 121.
 Barlings Abbey, 40, 46, 90, 98, 100.
 " " Clement, abbot of, 59.
 " " Ingelram, abbot of, 49.
 " " Robert, abbot of, 42, 48.
 Barnby, John, 43.
 Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, 1, 40.
 Bassett, or Basseth, William, 37.
 Bate, John, 30, 148.
 Baxby, Robert, 25, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112.
 Beanfort, Cardinal, 33.
 Becket, Archbishop, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13.
 Bedall, Robert, 106, 109, 112.
 Bedun, John de, 23.
 Beeley, Isabel de, 30.
 " John de, 27, 47.
 " Luke de, 29, 30.
 " Margaret de, 47, 50.
 " Osbert de, 27, 30.
 " Rener de, 29.
 " Richard de, 36.
 " Sarra de, 30.
 " Serlo de, 23, 42, 54.
 " Susanna de, 50.
 " Thomas de, 36, 54.
 " Uscelin de, 46.
 " Warin de, 46.
 Beighton, 37, 60.
 " John de, 34.
 " Robert de, 60.
 Bele, Robert, 59.
 Belgrave, Robert de, 54.
 Bellew, Matilda, 54.
 " Thomas de, 42.
 Bernak, Gervas de, 60.

- Berne, Everard, abbot of, 49.
 Bernes, John de, 41.
 Berneston, Gilbert de, 17.
 Beverley, Robert, 98.
 Biringley, 54.
 Birchett, 41, 50.
 " manor of, 116.
 Birthyll, 58.
 Blanchland Abbey, 35.
 " Berasdas, abbot of, 35.
 Blunt, Adam le, 27.
 " Anabill, 27.
 " Beatrix, 27.
 Blythe, Agnes de, 46.
 " John de, 51.
 " William, 148.
 Bolar, Simon, 32.
 Bolles, William, 143.
 Boston, Gilbert, 100.
 Botham, John, 25, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112.
 Bothing, *see* Botham.
 Bower, John, 148.
 Bowland, Robert, 59, 90, 91, 94, 96, 109, 112, 136.
 " John, 105.
 Drailsford, family of, 116.
 " Henry de, 43, 145.
 " Richard de, 34.
 " Roger de, 63, 145.
 Brampton, 122.
 Brandenburg, Wm., Bishop of, 54.
 Brasse, Richard, 43, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112.
 Bret, Roger le, 145.
 " William le, 63, 64, 115.
 Breton, Robert, 122.
 " Roger le, 63, 145.
 Brewer, William, 31, 56.
 Briges, William de, 28.
 " Alice de, 28.
 Bright, John, 122.
 Brimington, 122.
 " Peter de, 63.
 Britheover, Agatha, 36.
 " John de, 36.
 Brito, Richard, 7.
 Broc, Robert de, 8.
 Brome le, 60.
 " Margaret de le, 25.
 " Sumund de, 22.
 Brommele, William, 28.
 Bronage, Hugh, 55.
 " Mary, 55.
 Brotherton, William, 81, 86, 87, 91, 94, 101, 102.
 Bruges, William, 33.
 Bubnell, 50.
 " Robert de, abbot, 37.
 Buall, *see* Ball.
 Bullock, John, 55.
 " William, 39.
 Bugaray, William, 25.
 Calcoft, John, 70.
 Cambridge, 101.
 Can, Agnes, 43.
 " John, 43.
 Canterbury, Dionysia of, 47.
 " Hubert, archbishop of, 45.
 " Theobald, " " 34.
 Capenberg, Hugh, abbot of, 32.
 Capsi, Aliee, 68.
 " Matilda, 68.
 Cassall, William, 94.
 Cartledge, Richard, 148.
 Cavendish family, 137.
 Cella, Berthhold, abbot of, 36.
 Chapelle-aux-Planches, Nigel, abbot of, 44.
 " " " William, " 32.
 Chapman, John, 26.
 " Margaret, 26.
 Chartreuse, Gerlemus, abbot of, 31.
 Chateau l' Abbaye, Herbert, abbot of, 52.
 Chateau-Thierry, Godefroid, abbot of, 47.
 Chaworth, Alice, 39, 40, 70.
 " Agnes, 30.
 " John, 45, 68, 136.
 " Isabella, 57.
 " Laurence, 30.
 " Nichola, 32.
 " Robert, 48.
 " Roysia, 26.
 " Thomas, 49, 50, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 64,
 68, 90, 144.
 " William, 39, 40, 64, 69, 70.
 Chesterfield, 25, 30, 46, 58, 122.
 " Alan de, 44.
 " Helemunda de, 26.
 " Osbert de, 26.
 " Roger de, 57.
 " Thomas de, 45.
 Christopher, abbot, 72.
 Cistercians, 24.
 Clairefontaine, Aufred, abbot of, 30.
 Clark, Cecilia, 53.
 " Thomas, 17.
 " William, 53.

- Clay, Matilda del, 55.
 Clyston, John, 59.
 Clughe, Agnes, 43.
 " Thomas, 43.
 Cluniacs, 24.
 Coelico, Thomas de, 24.
 Coke, John, 48.
 Cold-Aston, 35, 67.
 Combe Longue, Peter Gerald, abbot of, 46.
 Combez, Thomas, 143.
 Cooke, Nicholas, 48.
 " Robert, 124.
 " Thomas, 148.
 Corbry, John, 86, 87.
 Corham, Robert, abbot of, 26.
 Cote, Thomas, 48.
 Coney, forest of, 1.
 Coulton, Peter de, 37.
 Coventry, Hugh, bishop of, 32.
 " Robert de, 55.
 Cowell, Richard, 57.
 Cowley, 122.
 Croxton Abbey, 100.
 " Adam, abbot of, 55.
 " Galfrid, abbot of, 55.
 " William Brackley, abbot of, 47.
 " William, abbot of, 38.
 Cruke, or Croke, John, 26, 105, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 Cruser, Juliana, 55.
 Cuissy, abbot of, 35.
 Cukeny, Thomas de, 47.
 Cursun, Stephen, 38.
 Curtledge, *see* Cartledge.
 Cuttcliff, William, 121.

 Dale Abbey, 22, 29.
 " John de Horsley, abbot of, 55.
 " Simon, abbot of, 51.
 " Walter de Senteney, abbot of, 22.
 Danyell, John, 54.
 " William, 54.
 Darton, William, 111, 112.
 Denby, John, 43.
 Derby, John, 52.
 Detard, John, 34.
 Deynhall, Isabella, 51.
 Dolphin, William, 36.
 Doncaster, 48, 110.
 " Thomas de, abbot, 54.
 " Grey Friars at, 102.
 Dore, 46, 47, 116.
 Dorehegset, 15.

 Downham, John, abbot, 73, *et seq.*
 Draper, Hugh, 31.
 Draycotes, Richard de, 31.
 Dronfield, 63, 115, 137, 147.
 " Egidius de, 121, 122.
 " grammar school, 137.
 " Peter, chaplain of, 115.
 " Thomas de, 41.
 " Thomas, parson of, 115.
 " William de, 36, 50, 106, 109, 111, 112.
 Dronfield Woodhouse, 116.
 Duckmanton, Roger de, 56.
 Dureford Abbey, 47.
 Durrant, Cecilia, 47.
 Dynham, Johanna, 49.
 " Thomas, 49.

 Ecclesall, 27, 56.
 " Radulph de, 33, 41.
 " Robert de, 33, 52.
 Eckington, 137.
 " church, 49.
 Edensor, Michael de, 33.
 " Robert de, prior, 39, 136.
 Edwalton, 15, 48, 133.
 Edward, John, 33.
 Egglestone Abbey, 105.
 " Gilbert, 96.
 Epworth, William, prior, 38.
 Everingham, Adam de, 63, 64.
 Eyam, Sampson, chaplain of, 48.

 Falda, Robert de, 31.
 Fanshawe family, 137.
 Farnfeld, Agnes de, 26.
 " Alan de, 26.
 " John de, 26.
 Fellay, Nicholas de, 38.
 Fitzadam, Emma, 55.
 " Peter, 55.
 Fitzdune, Idonea, 35.
 " Richard, 27, 35.
 Fitzgospatrik, Thomas, 38.
 Fitzherbert, John, 28, 50.
 " Margaret, 28.
 Fitzhugh, Eustace, 17.
 " Radulph, 17.
 " Stephen, 17.
 Fitzjohn, Gueuilla, 37.
 " John, 46.
 " William, 37.
 Fitznicholas, Radulph, 51.

- Fitzphilip, Adam, 17.
 Fitzranulph, Robert, 7, 8, 48, 103.
 " Roger, 17.
 " William, 8, 15, 17, 41.
 Fitzrobert, William, 41.
 Fitzroger, Robert, 33.
 Fitzthomas, William, 30.
 Fitzstephen, William, 7.
 Fitzwilliam, Edmund, 66.
 " Ranulph, 46.
 " Robert, 32.
 Flanders, Ferrand, Count of, 44.
 Flesshever, John, 148.
 Foljambe family, 137.
 " John de, 66.
 " Thomas, 24.
 Folkingham, Cecilia, 58.
 " Richard de, 58.
 " Robert de, 48.
 " William, abbot, 26, 58.
 Foulstowe, Radulph de, abbot, 53.
 Fovanbe, Alice, 48.
 " Thomas, 48.
 Fox, Isabella, 57.
 " John, 57.
 " Thomas, 148.
 Fulwood, 37, 45, 53, 137.
 Furness, Henry, abbot of, 36.
 " Edmund, 106, 109, 111, 112, 136.
 " Richard de, 63.
 " Robert de, 60.
 Furnivall, Andeluga (?), 24.
 " Gerard de, 42, 45, 53.
 " John de, 38.
 " Matilda de, 38.
 " Thomas de, 37, 45, 47, 64, 66.
 Galeth, Thomas, 58.
 Galway, Lady Margaret, 25.
 Gamgete, William, 27.
 Gamullaston, Henry de, 34.
Gaudii Vallis Abbey, 34.
 Gaunt, John of, 31.
 Gill, Adam, 148.
 " John, 148.
 Glanville, Ranulph de, 51.
 Gomfray, Thomas, 52.
 Gonsel, Agnes de, 36.
 " Matilda de, 26.
 " Peter de, 52.
 " Thomas de, 36.
 " Walter de, 63.
 Grastok, Roger, 25.
 Gray, Thomas, 121, 122.
 Grecton, Thomas de, 53.
 Green, John, 77, 80, 82, 85, 86.
 Greenhill, 50.
 " moor, 61, 62, 63.
 Greenwood, John, abbot, 35, 137.
 Grelle, Robert, 32.
 Grenhilleg, 15.
 Gresley, Basma de, 44.
 " Galfrid de, 44.
 " William de, abbot, 22.
 Grimberg, Escelin, abbot of, 36.
 Gringett, William de, 33.
 Gringley, William de, 58.
 Guffer Abbey, 45.
 Gylbart, Thomas, 130.
 Gylle, *see* Gill.
 Hales Owen Abbey, 40, 105.
 " Roger, abbot of, 57.
 Hallamshire, 37, 42.
 Halughton (? Alfreton), William de, 69.
 Handsworth, 35, 55.
 Hanley, 40.
 Harewood Grange, 137.
 Harlington, Thomas de, 66.
 Harope, Peter de, 50.
 Hartley, Robert, 92.
 Harwood, Richard de, 27.
 Haslam, Christopher, 129, 136, 139.
 Haslewood, 60.
 Hathersage, 21.
 " Matthew de, 30.
 " Michael de, 33.
 Haubecurt Abbey, 56.
 " Haymon, abbot of, 47.
 Haya, Richard de, 35.
 " Radulph de, 46.
 Haworth, Henry de, 43.
 Helewida, 56.
 Holynbrytt, or Holynbrygge, Richard, 32, 109, 111, 112.
 Holywood, Gregory, abbot of, 35.
 " Michael, abbot of, 38.
 Hopkins, Robert, 124.
 Hornby, prior of, 100.
 Horsley, Cecilia de, 46.
 " John de, 46, 55.
 Hosat, Henry, 47.
 Hucklow, the monk of, 23.
Hugolinellus (?), Lusania, 44.

- Hugolinellus* (?), Peter, 45.
Hull, John, 96.
" Thomas, 76, 98.
Hutton, William de, 45.
Hyston, William, 106.
Ivo, abbot, 51, 73.
Jordan, abbot, 48.
Jordanthorpe, 30.
Kelby, 100.
Ketil, Roger, 46.
Keten, Peter de, 51.
Kilnhurst, 27.
Kychin, William de, 57, 94.
Kyrington, Robert, 98.
Lac-de-Joux, William, abbot of, 57.
Lafold, Christopher, 31.
" Isabel, 31.
Langdon Abbey, 47.
" Bartholomew, abbot of, 51.
Langley Abbey, 33.
" Hugh, abbot of, 35.
Langton, William de, 47.
Laon, 40.
Lavindon Abbey, 23.
" Augustine, abbot of, 34.
" David, abbot of, 48.
Lawnder, Beatrix, 28.
" Cecilia, 28.
" John, 28.
Leake, Leche, &c.
" Emma, 50.
" Francis, 137.
" Radulph, 50.
" Roger, 58.
" Walter, 17.
" William, 37.
Lee, John, 143.
Leyeeter, William, 60.
Leyston Abbey, 51.
" Gilbert, abbot of, 25.
" Philip, abbot of, 26.
" Robert, abbot of, 47.
Lichfield, William de, 59.
Liesques, William, abbot of, 25.
" abbot of, 100.
Lightwood, 55.
Lilleshill, Eustace de, 15, 16.
Lieu-Dien, John, abbot of, 57.
Linacre, Hugh de, 63, 64.
" William, 48.
Linaker, *see* Linacre.
Lincoln, 37.
" William, 98, 100.
" Little Lees," 137.
Lodowie, Count, 54.
Loterel, Lady Johanna, 29.
" Robert, 31, 33.
Lorde, John, 58.
Loucock, John, 36.
Louis, King of the French, 50.
Lovetot, Matilda, 42.
Lucerne Abbey, 27.
" Richard, Abbot of, 30.
Lydgate, 149.
Lynden, *see* Swindon.
Lyne, Robert de, 44.
Lysous, John de, 69.
Lytylporte, George, 109.
MacMahon family, 10.
Mabawde, Thomas, 44.
Maldon, Robert, abbot of, 38.
Malleburne, John de, 39.
Malmsbury, Gilbert de, abbot, 37, 38.
" Senelma de, 59.
Mausfield, William de, 43.
Mantyll, Robert, 31, 32.
Marcham, Albreda de, 49.
" Roger de, 49.
Maresal, Richard de, 38.
Marienweerd Abbey, 23.
" Arnulph, abbot of, 55, 56.
" Escelo, abbot of, 60.
Marnaion, John, 35.
Marnesberg, Arnold, abbot of, 43.
Marnham, 63, 68.
Martin, Hugh, 44.
" John, 49.
" Robert, 68.
Mason, William, 124.
Matlock, Gilbert de, 122.
Mayence, Robert, abbot of St. James in, 40.
Medeburne, Robert de, 68.
Menevin Abbey, 31.
Merche, Nicholas de, 122.
Merestbroc, 16.
Merewood, *see* Morewood.
Middleton, 26.
Milner, William, 53.
Miri, Richard, 68.

- Moore, *or* More, Alice, 55.
 „ John, 30.
 „ Michael de, 30.
 „ Robert de, 55.
 „ Thomas, 148.
 „ William de, 122.
 Morewood, John, 48.
 Morisburch, Margaret de, 47.
 Moreville, Hugh, 7, 10, 12, 27.
 Mount St. Martin, Adam, abbot of, 55.
 „ Gilbert, abbot of, 51.
 Mower, *or* Mawher, William, 148.
 Musard, Ralph, 9, 40.
 Musca, Thomas de, 5.
 Myrfin, John, 65, 66.
 Napton, Elia de, 43.
 Neubo Abbey, 22.
 „ Radulph, abbot of, 42.
 Nevill, Thomas de, 65.
 Newbold, 137.
 Newhouse Abbey, 5, 96, 107.
 „ „ founder of, 52.
 „ Adam, abbot of, 29.
 „ Thomas Ashton, abbot of, 22, 96.
 „ David, abbot of, 41.
 „ Galfrid, abbot of, 36.
 „ Gerlo, abbot of, 38.
 „ Lambert, abbot of, 34.
 „ Osbert, abbot of, 51.
 Norbert, St., 1, 2.
 Norhampton, 55.
 Norton, 15, 16, 35, 41, 46, 48, 50, 55, 62, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 70, 78, 137, 144, 148.
 „ vicar of, 105, 112.
 „ Adam de, 44.
 „ Isabella de, 44.
 „ John de, 41, 53, 59.
 „ John, abbot, 33, 90, 91, 94, 96, 105, 106,
 108, 109, 111, 112, 145.
 Notel place, 55.
 Nottingham, John de, 41.
 Odo, 15.
 Orreby, John de, 17.
 Orton, John, 59.
 Osberton, 68.
 Oston, William de, 69.
 Otho, Count, 49.
 Oughtibridge, John, 78.
 Oxley, Richard, 58.
 Padley, 46, 60.
 Parlys, John de, 29.
 Parker, Emma le, 68.
 „ John, 55, 148.
 „ Robert, 148.
 „ Thomas, 55, 148.
 „ William, 32, 35.
 Pasteley, Robert, 55.
 Peeco, Galfrid de, 39.
 „ Matilda de, 39.
 „ Ralph de, 42.
 „ Richard de, 32.
 Pegge, Alice, 43.
 „ Edward, 39.
 „ Henry, 43.
 Perleson, Richard, 24.
 Peyton, Thomas, 34, 91, 94, 101, 102, 105, 106,
 108, 109, 111, 112, 114.
 „ William, 105, 106, 108, 111.
 Philip, King of France, 40.
 Pleaseley, Serlo de, 15, 34.
 Ponte Arche, Amicia de, 28.
 Pontrell, Richard, 37.
 Portland, Duke of, 137.
 Povey, derivation of, 55.
 Powe, William, 55.
 Power, Norman, 48.
 „ Robert, 48.
 „ Stephen, 51, 78, 91, 94, 105, 106.
 Powmiffrett (Pontefract), John, 84, 86, 87.
 Prémontre, village of, 1.
 „ order of, 1.
 „ fanciful derivation of, 3.
 „ Gervase, abbot of, 27.
 „ Hubert, abbot of, 105.
 „ Hugh, abbot of, 46.
 „ Simon de la Terrière, abbot of, 80, 82,
 83.
 Preston Abbey, 38.
 Prime, Nicholas, 43.
 Putrel, William, 43.
 Quintinewelle, 15, 48, 49.
 Radagund, Henry, abbot of, 44.
 Radcliffe, *see* Ratcliffe.
 Radford, William de, 24.
 Ranulph, Viscount, 24.
 Ratcliffe, Alice de, 38.
 „ John de, 38.
 „ Robert de, abbot, 42, 69.

- Redmayne, bishop, 28, 81, 82, 83, 86, 88, 90, 96,
100, 101, 105, 107, 108, 110.
Regis Talis, Jocelin, abbot of, 57.
Ressons, Peter, abbot of, 23.
Ressun, William, 37.
Rerisby, Adam de, 63, 145.
Retorta, Raymund, abbot of, 38.
" William, abbot of, 51.
Richmond, 53.
Richmond, or Richemunt, William de, 29.
" Mabile, 29.
Rivers, Robert, 49.
Roche Abbey, 63.
Rodmewthwait, Thomas de, 45.
Roland, Wimund de, 40.
Ros, William, 41.
Rotherham, 32, 34.
" Gilbert de, 32.
" Henry de, 41.
" John de, 56.
" Peter, 37.
" Richard de, 47.
" Robert de, abbot, 30.
Rounill, Richard, 63.
Rovecester, John, 46, 47.
Royaval Abbey, 56, 57.
Rupibus, Peter de, 40.
Russell, Thomas, 33.

Saham, Galfrid de, 42.
St. Agatha (Easby), 82.
" William, abbot of, 41.
St. Foillan, Egidius, abbot of, 23.
St. Josse, Adam, abbot of, 33.
St. Just, Baldwin, abbot of, 30.
" Weneramus, abbot of, 42.
Santhorp, Robert de, 23.
Séz, bishop of, 27.
Seliok, William de, 46, 55.
Senteney, Walter de, 22.
Shap Abbey, 28, 80, 81, 106, 112.
Sheen river, 14.
Sheffield, 41, 56.
" mill, 42, 53.
" Hugh de, 45.
" John, abbot, 35, 129.
" William de, 60.
Shepherd, Roger, 41.
Shepley, John, 148.
Sidon, Almuric, bishop of, 54.
Silley Abbey, 45.
Skeffington, Simon de, 68.
Skipton, Robert, 40, 76, 86, 87, 91, 94, 101, 102,
105.
Smyth, John, 148.
Smythi, John de, 148.
Soulsent, Christian, abbot of, 57.
Stacius de Eyam, 44.
Stafforth, or Stafford, Henry, 29.
" " John de, 121, 122.
" " Johanna de, 121, 122.
" " Richard de, 48.
Stanford, John de, 46.
" Richard de, 41.
Stanley, Alan de, 25.
" Richard de, 23.
Staveley, Anice de, 38.
" Mavicia de, 54.
" Radulph de, 38.
" Robert de, 102.
Stella, Ranulph, abbot of, 42.
Stephen, abbot, 42.
Stephenson, Edmund, 125, 127.
Steven, Johanna, 109.
Stevens, William, 68.
Steward, John, 78.
Stondon, William, 94.
Strelley, Sir Nicholas, 137.
Stretton, Adam de, 15.
Stubbe, William, 27.
" Albreda, 27.
Stubley, John de, 121.
Subligny, Hasculph de, 27.
Sully Abbey, 51.
" William, abbot of, 52.
Summerley, John de, 121.
Suteres, Galfrid, 47.
Sutton, or Sueton, Gilbert de, 17.
Swanwick, 67.
Swift, John, abbot, 77, 84, 85, 91, 94, 96, 99, 100.
Swindon, Wynden, Swenden, or Swyndall, William,
91, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112.
Swinton, 54.

Takil, Gilbert, 43.
Tatysall, Thomas, 96, 97, 98.
Thenailles, Gobert, abbot of, 28.
Thorpe, Henry de, 46.
Thirsk, Henry de, 44.
Tichfield Abbey, 40.
Tickhill, Richard de, 28.
" Thomas de, 59.
Tideswell, 54.
Tongarloo, Wenemar, abbot of, 31.
Torr Abbey, 56, 109, 110.
" John, abbot of, 41.

- Tracy, William, 7, 10, 11.
 Travers, Alice de, 28.
 " Margaret de, 28.
 " Roger de, 28.
 " Thomas de, 28.
 Treeton, 29.
 Tungleland Abbey, 25, 41.
 Topholme, Radulph, abbot of, 47.
 Tynett, Radulph, 31.
- Ughtybrig, *see* Oughtibridge.
 Unstone, 121.
 Uston, Walter de, 145.
- Val-Christien Abbey, Walter, abbot of, 41.
Vallis Serena, Herbert, abbot of, 41.
 " Henry, abbot of, 47.
 Varlar Abbey, 49.
 Verdon, Agnes de, 38, 46.
 " Bertram de, 46.
 Verdun St. Paul, Bartholomew, abbot of, 46.
 " Robert, abbot of, 44.
Vermanz (?) Abbey, 30.
 Videville, William de, 51.
- Wadsley, Robert de, 64.
 Wadworth, Ranulph de, 29.
 Walton, 60.
 Waltonhay 60.
 Warren, Hamelin, Earl of, 36.
 " Matilda, Countess of, 25.
 Watchill, 40.
 Waterton, Cecilia, 24.
 " Robert, 24.
 Waudone, Johanna de, 56.
 Waus, John, 34.
 " Sibilla, 34.
- Wedur, Margaret, 35.
 " Roger, 25.
 " Thomas, abbot, 25, 100, 105, 106, 108.
 Welbeck Abbey, 74, 86, 90, 96, 102.
 " founder of, 47.
 " Adam, abbot of, 16, 17.
 " Beauchief a colony of, 17.
 " Berengarius, abbot of, 25.
 " Hugh, abbot of, 36.
 " Richard, abbot of, 53.
 " Thomas, abbot of, 113.
 " William, abbot of, 53, 91, 98, 101.
- West, Sir William, 137.
 West Dereham Abbey, 109.
 " Henry, abbot of, 37.
 Wentworth, John de, 23.
 Wheteley, Walter de, 52.
 Willecest, John de, 41.
 Winchester, 40.
 Windsor, 103.
 Wishau, Robert de, 38.
 Wolset, Robert, 22, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114.
 Woodhouse, 38.
 " John, 148.
 Woodscats, 50.
 Woodspring Priory, 10.
 Wortley, John, 27.
 Wyddoson, William, 94, 105, 107, 108.
 Wygley, Robert de, 55.
 Wymeswold, 15, 16, 22, 25, 32, 48, 51, 53, 55, 63, 105, 111, 112, 133, 146, 147.
 Wymeswold, Adam de, 46.
 " Richard de, 38.
 Wynden, *see* Swindon.
- York, Robert, 149.
 " William, 97, 98.



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